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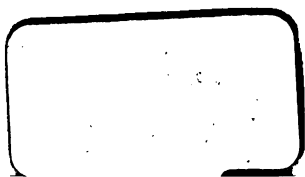
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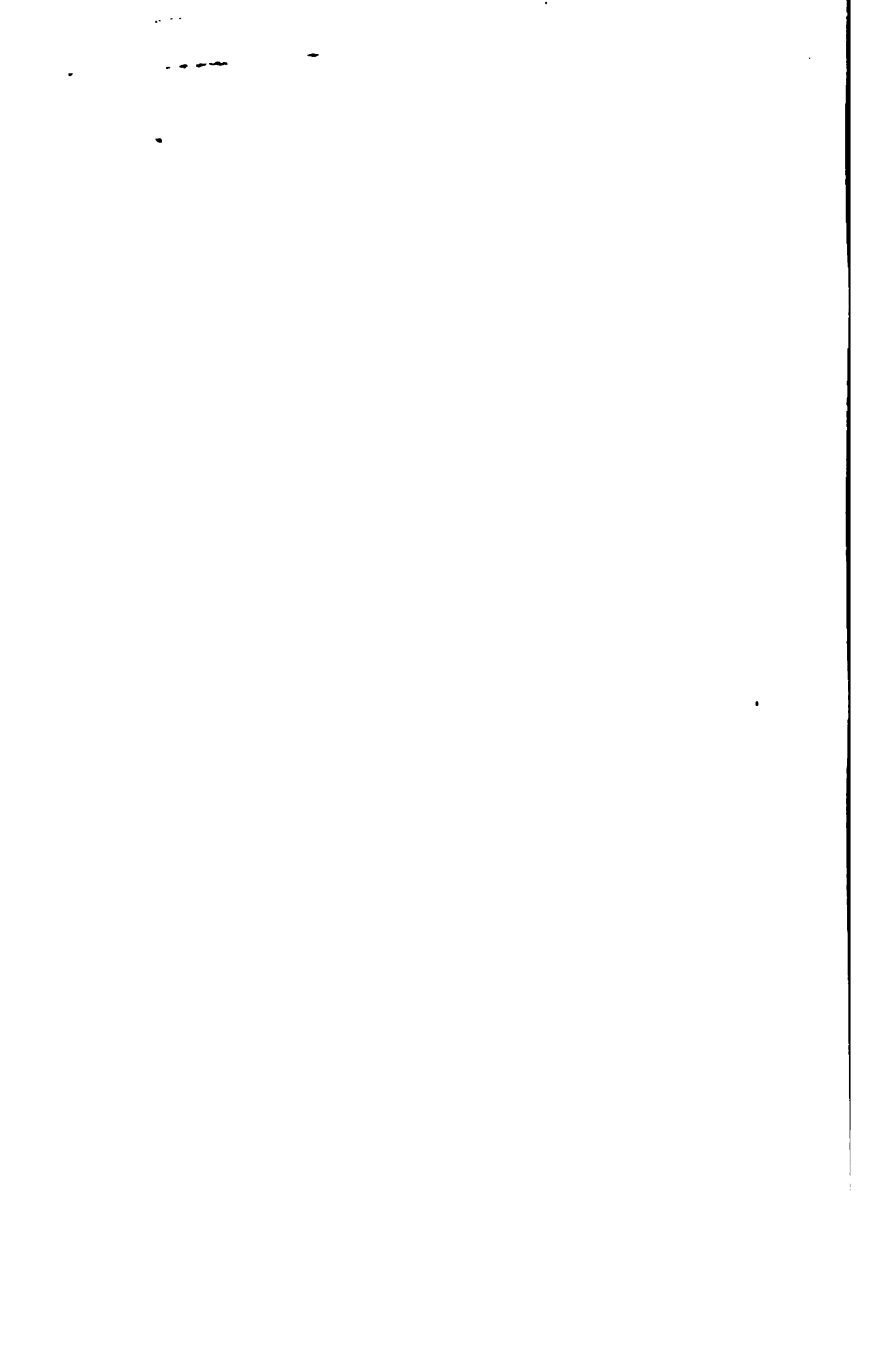
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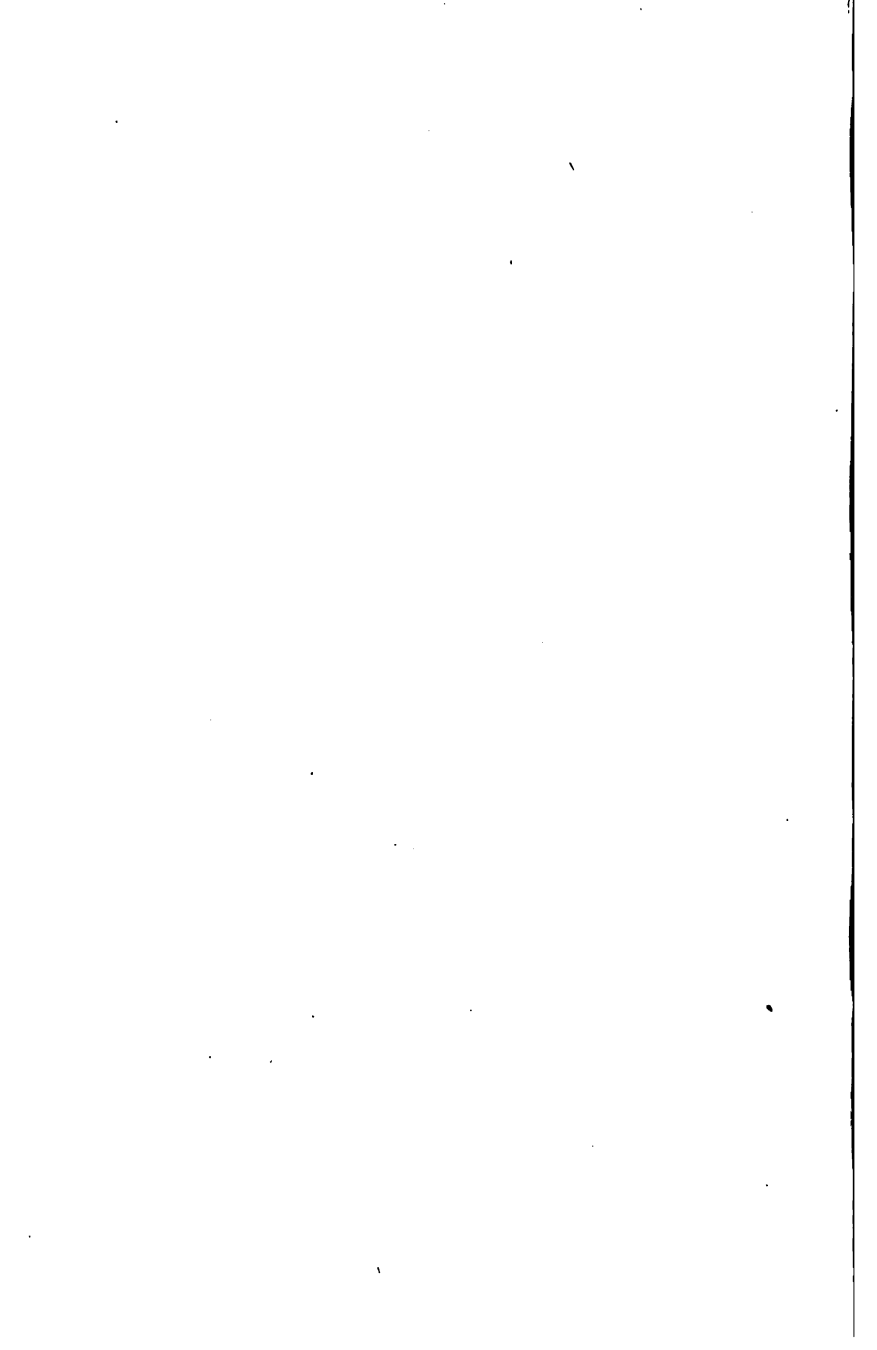




# THE PRUSSIAN RACE

ETHNOLOGICALLY CONSIDERED.





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# THE PRUSSIAN RACE

ETHNOLOGICALLY CONSIDERED.

TO WHICH IS APPENDED

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE BOMBARDMENT OF THE  
MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, ETC., BY  
THE PRUSSIANS IN JANUARY, 1871.

BY

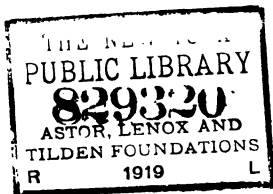
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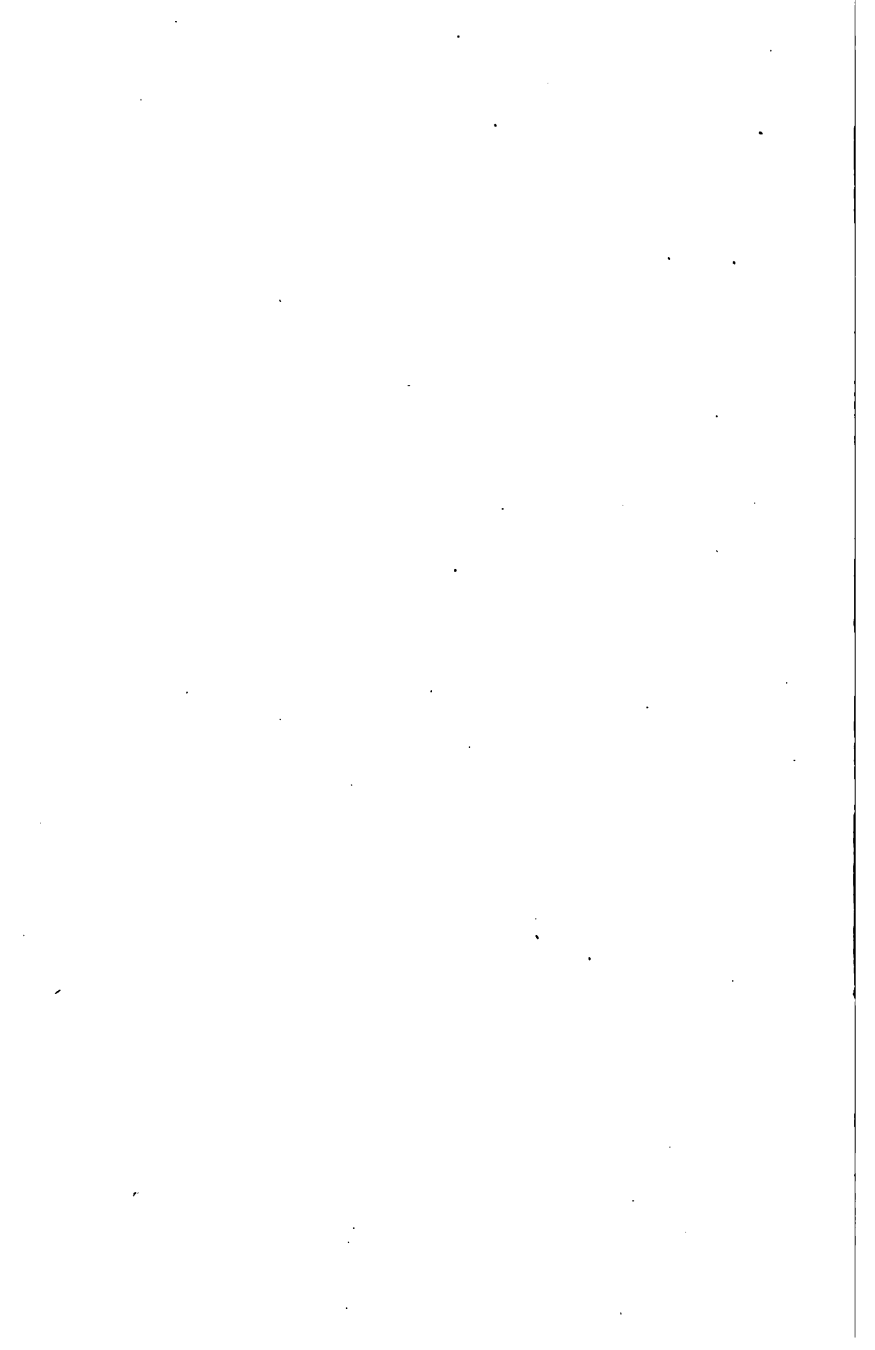
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THIS little work first appeared in the form of an Article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.\* May it help to destroy some errors and prejudices which, after having rendered France what it is at present, threaten all Europe with a new Thirty Years' War!

DE QUATREFAGES.

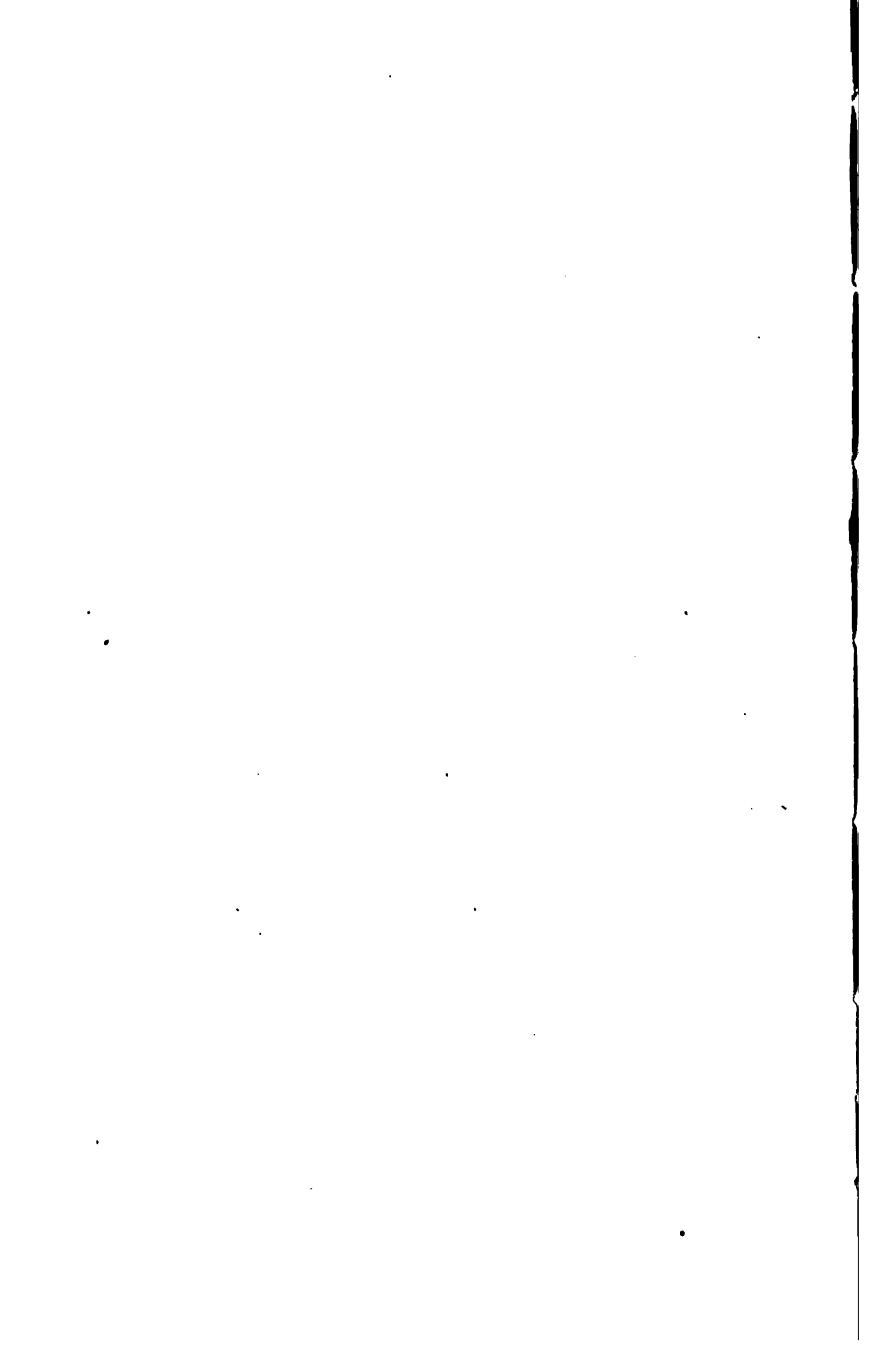
\* February, 1871.



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# THE PRUSSIAN RACE.

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## INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE always opposed the application of anthropology to politics ; such applications rest almost always upon error. Doubtless the difference of race is evident between whites and negroes. And the English and Hindoo, also, could scarcely be confounded ; for their Aryan blood is more or less mingled with that flowing from very different sources : they separated ages ago, are both modified by almost opposing conditions of existence, and isolated by the foundations of their civilisation and faith. They are very excusable for forgetting their parentage, although it is now put beyond a doubt. But when they treat each other as strangers, both may rightly appeal to anthropology.

It is not, however, the same with the other European nations.

Here the ethnical elements all belong to the same



shoots, of the same branches, of the white stem.\* Agitated and brewed, as it were, in the vat of events, they have been placed in juxtaposition, mixed with, and melted into one another so completely, that there remain but few groups nearly pure. Every political subdivision, founded on ethnology, immediately leads to absurdity. Thus, when any one has tried to invoke considerations of this nature, he has been inevitably led to falsify the most evident anthropological facts, and give the lie to the most certain historical notions.

The application of anthropology to politics is not only a source of error, but is, above all, big with nearly inevitable perils. Far from preparing the universal peace promised us in its name, it can only engender a spirit of hatred, only render war eternal.

Between peoples, nations, and states, ambition may be curbed by the spirit of generosity, or at least by the justice which reciprocal esteem engenders; the struggle, whether diplomatic or armed, may remain

\* Considered in its entirety, humanity presents only three really distinct types—the white, yellow, and black. These are the fundamental stems of the human stock. The first alone, we know, peopled Europe. It divides into three secondary types or branches; that is to say, the Aryan, the Semitic, and the Allophylic branch. The Semitic race hardly set foot in Europe; and, formerly, we regarded all its populations as having an exclusive Aryan origin. Now, we must acknowledge, more and more, that the Allophylic race has nearly everywhere furnished an element of incontestible importance. I shall return to this question in the sequel.

courteous, permit a sincere reconciliation, and prepare a durable peace. It cannot be so when between *races* one generally attaches to this idea something primordial or inevitable, so to say. Let two races, equal in some respects, but dissimilar in a few, come to blows, and each will regard itself as having a right by birth to superiority. Triumphant, it will pitilessly crush the people it despises; vanquished, its heart's depths will hoard up indelible resentments ever ready to explode. Entire history, that of our own days, that of Europe itself, shows only too well what are wars of races.

This is what I have said; what I have often repeated; but when I used this language, I was far from thinking that events were soon about to bring it a terrible confirmation. Thanks to the idea of the antagonism of *races*, set going and worked with Machiavelian skill, the whole of Germany rose. In the name of Pan-Germanism, they declared they would reign over the Latin races; and seeing in France the highest exponent of these races, they hurled themselves on our country with the loudly-proclaimed intention of reducing it to irremediable impotency. Served by an unheard-of concurrence of events, as much as by their slowly and skilfully trained forces, they conquered. The world knows how they made war and used victory.

Certainly when, under pain of death, they forced the French peasantry to dig trenches under the fire of our besieged places; when, by their military rules, they burnt our villages for a few gun-shots not fired by the inhabitants; when the targets for their shells were our public edifices, our libraries,\* our scientific

\* To justify my statement it is sufficient to recall what passed at Strasburg. Every one acquainted with this city, knows that the buildings forming the library, the Protestant Church of Temple Neuf, and the Protestant Seminary, formed a large isolated block, to which was attached only a very small number of private houses. This, which is marked in all the plans, was assuredly known to the Germans, to the Badenens especially. They very well knew where the fire burst out, and they voluntarily rained shells with redoubled alacrity on these scientific treasures, on this church and college, belonging to those of their own faith. In fact, the Germans obeyed the orders of the Prussians; and to attack the monuments of a besieged city, in order to shock men's minds and terrify the inhabitants, is quite a Prussian tradition. On this subject there is testimony, it is well to remember, in an English author. "Frederick the Great, when he besieged Prague, seems to have set his heart on the destruction of the cathedral, against which the fire of his artillery was peculiarly directed. What his motive was, it would be difficult to say. He could scarcely think that the garrison of 50,000 men would surrender to him for the sake of saving the cathedral. It could not be zeal for Protestantism that impelled Frederick to vow the destruction of an ancient Catholic church, without regard to its beauty, its antiquity, and the numberless objects of art which it contained. I should like to know whether Frederick, in any of his works, has attempted to justify this barbarous treatment of the Hradshin Church, or whether any one has ever cited him before the tribunal of public opinion on account of it. The impartial Bohemian historian, Petzel, gives a very detailed enumeration of all the balls, bombs, and shells that were hurled against this admirable specimen of ancient architec-

establishments ;\* when they revived the barbarous law of hostages ; when, not content with plunder systematically collected, and hierarchically distributed, they exacted such an indemnity that the figure at first frightened the financial world ; when, trampling under foot all their pretended principles, they took from us, with the tract of German-speaking country, a city exclusively French, our only defence in face of their so formidably armed frontiers, the Germans could not hope to prepare a future of international good feeling and peace.

Does the victory, at least, secure the supremacy of their race ? Not at all. Called to this crusade by

ture by the merciless order of Frederick. On the 5th of June the building served as a target for 537 bombs, 989 cannon balls, and 17 *carcasses* ; of which, however, it must not be supposed that all, or indeed anything like half, of them hit the mark they were fired at. On the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th the town was complimented with 7,144 bombs, 14,821 balls, and 111 *carcasses*, of which the majority were aimed at the cathedral. During those four days the building was thirty times on fire, and each time it was saved from entire destruction by the vigilance and exertion of the canon, John Kaiser. The roof was perforated by no less than 215 balls ; and when, after the cannonade, the church was cleared of the rubbish that had meanwhile accumulated there, no less than 770 balls were collected, from different parts of the edifice. Napoleon, when he entered Moscow, sent a guard to protect the children in the great Foundling Hospital. Why did not Frederick, when he fired his first gun against Prague, grant a similar protection to the cathedral, on the Hradshin, by ordering his artillerymen rather to fire on any object than that ?" — Rohlf's "Austria," p. 23.

\* A little further on I will put this fact beyond doubt.

Prussia, they have accepted the sway of this power, and resuscitated for it the German Empire. Prussia will not let herself be deposed.

Now the ethnological elements of this nation are quite different from those which gave birth to the truly German people. Special climacteric conditions have maintained and accentuated the original differences. In reality, from an anthropological point of view, Prussia is almost entirely a foreigner to Germany.

This is what I wish to show in this little work. And to attain my end I need to make no hypothesis, nor even to cite new or ill-known facts. In reality, I have merely to recall notions that are almost common ; facts that have been long accepted by men of study in every nation ; which, although forgotten under the empire of momentary passion, remain not the less true.

## CHAPTER I.

### THE SOIL AND THE CLIMATE.

THE physical and ethnological history of Prussia is mixed up with that of all the countries situated to the south and south-east of the Baltic Sea.\*

All this region was still a part of the bottom of the Frozen Sea at a period when men had for a long time inhabited Central and Southern Germany, France, Belgium, &c. Slowly emerging when the present geological period had its birth, this bottom formed an immense and more or less undulating plain, extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the Black Sea. The ridge line of the two basins is so little elevated that, during the annual inundations of the spring and autumn, the Pipetz, an affluent of the Dnieper, communicates with the Bug, an affluent of the Vistula, and with the Niemen.

\* This kind of combination extends, in reality, a great deal further, and embraces a much larger number of countries and nations than I point out here. I have been obliged to restrain myself, and give account only of that which bears immediately upon the object of this work.

The tract north of this plain is essentially composed of sand, and strewn with erratic blocks, which attest the mode of its formation.\* Argillaceous slime, distributed in large patches, fertilises it in parts, leaving vast spaces covered with sterile land and inexhaustible turf pits, which indefatigable labour alone can transform into cultivated fields. On this scarcely sloping soil water collects in ponds and innumerable lakes, often fed, or put into communication one with another, by streams or rivers with sinuous bed, slow course, and rarely limpid water. A generally damp climate is the natural consequence of this state of things. The winds from the north-east adding to the influence of the latitude, prolong the winters and render them rigorous; nowhere is felt the moderating action of the

\* "The line which limits the extension of the erratic blocks," says M. d'Archiac, "starts from the Gulf of Tcheskaia, on the borders of the Frozen Ocean, follows the western declivity of the chain of the Timans to their junction with the Oural Mountains, and departing from this point descends, south-south-west, to Voronéje; remounts northwards, towards Kalouga, to descend anew, and gain, on the north-east, the marshes of Pinsk, where one loses sight of it. One finds it beyond, on their western boundary. Afterwards, winding round the woods of Kilce, Cracow, and Galatz, it passes the Vistula, to the south of Breslau, continues, to the north-west, on the limits of Prussia and Saxony, skirts the north foot of the Harz Mountains, traverses Hungary, and comes to an end at the Island of Urk, in the Zuyderzee." The erratic blocks comprised within these limits, as regards Russia, come from the crystalline rocks of Finland. Those found in Poland and Northern Germany are from the Scandinavian Alps.—("Cours de Paléontologie.")

sea. Almost continuous forests, of which several countries have preserved magnificent remains, seem to have covered almost all this region.

If one follows the shores of the Baltic from east to west, starting from the Gulf of Finland, one meets successively Esthonia, Livonia, Courland, the two Prussias (Eastern Prussia and Western Prussia), Pomerania, Mecklenburg, and Holstein. To the south of this first zone come Poland (Russian Poland and Prussian Poland), Brandenburg, and Hanover.\*

Such is the theatre in which the facts I am going to relate all came to pass.

\* I repeat, there is here no question of a rigorously exact limitation. Thus I do not include Silesia within the line of reckoning; though its eastern part, at least, should, in almost every point of view, be united with the countries indicated.



## CHAPTER II.

### THE PRIMITIVE INHABITANTS.

I. *The Slaves and the Goths.*—As far as classic history ascends, two great races of the Aryan stock seem to divide the lands watered by the Baltic, of which we now treat. Hardly do the writers of Greece or Rome mention a third element, of which we, however, shall have to give some account.

In the west, the German family\* was represented by the Saxons and Angles, who occupied the sea-shore, Hanover, Holstein, and a part of Mecklenburg. History tells that armed colonists quitted these coasts

\* The German family, if we take account, especially of its anatomical and physical characteristics, comprehends three distinct groups. The Scandinavians form the first; the Germans of the north and west the second; the Germans of the south and east the third. Prichard, adopting the conclusions of Zeuss on this subject, divides the Germans into four groups, and regards the Scandinavians as perfectly distinct from the Germanic people of the centre. All these distinctions rest on philological reasons, consequently, on that order of considerations of which German patriots make so strange an abuse in order to reclaim, as belonging to Germany, States which ardently desire independence, but which have the misfortune to speak a language akin to that of their conquerors.

to establish themselves in Great Britain, where they mingled with the primitive inhabitants, and, later, were confounded with them under the common name of Britons.

Others, of the same tribes as these conquerors, directed their course northwards, and landed in Sweden. Everything proves that the Scandinavian peninsula was not then an uninhabited land. Two races, one very short, the other, on the contrary, remarkable for lofty stature, had already disputed for its possession. Both, according to the illustrious and venerable Nilsson,\* were of Finnic race. (We shall see, in the sequel, what is to be understood by this expression.) The second got the upper hand, but were evidently in their turn subdued by the Anglo-Saxons, who forced them to speak their language. The people were not annihilated on that account, and the conquerors intermarried with these Iotnes. This was not, indeed, an isolated fact. Latham remarks, that in the Scandinavian regions, language and blood do not always coincide.† This must have been the

\* "Les Habitants Primitifs de la Scandinavie."

† "Elements of Comparative Philology." According to Latham, Scandinavia was, in primitive times, Ougrian. This author also confines the primitive Germanic area in a very remarkable manner. However this may be, the Goths have always been regarded as very distinct from the Germans properly so-called. And it is evident that this distinction is absolutely unquestionable; for, in its most ambitious

beginning of the population that, under the name of *Goths*, has left so many traces in history, and whose name must be borrowed (according to the learned Englishman) from the country invaded by the Anglo-Saxons.

In the basin of the Oder, the Germanic race clashed with the Slaves. From this contact undoubtedly sprang the Vandals,\* a tribe of mixed blood, who in the second century of our era occupied the upper course of the Elbe, and whose name has become historical, with a signification which it is almost useless to recall.

The Slaves settled on the Vistula at a pre-historic period, and possessed its entire basin. About three centuries before Christ, they were attacked by the Goths, and lost the mouth of the river, with a part of its bed; but four hundred years afterwards they took their revenge, and expelled the invaders. Pursuing their conquests, they took possession of all the neighbouring states, and hurled the population (whether of pure or mixed Germanic origin) upon the Roman Empire. In the fifth and sixth centuries,

reveries Pan-Germanism has never dreamed of claiming the Scandinavian states as belonging to the Fatherland.

\* "The Vandals have been sometimes traced to a Germanic, and sometimes to a Slavic, root. The etymology of the word at least indicates the predominance of the latter ethnological element."—  
A. Maury.

a part of Courland on the east, of Mecklenburg on the west, with all the intermediate countries—the two Prussias, Pomerania, Brandenburg, and Silesia, as well as Poland and its dependencies\*—belonged to the Slaves.

The physical characteristics of the Goths, which are, besides, nearly identical with those of the other Germanic races, are well known. Many writers, both of classic and of later times, have described their lofty stature, their robust limbs, their fair complexion, and their flaxen, flowing hair.†

\* I have been unable, here, to treat of the other countries possessed by the Slaves, or of the extension of this race in every direction. The reader interested in the question has only to consult two curious maps, published by M. Duchinski, as an appendix to M. Viquesnel's work, "Coup-d'œil sur quelques Points de l'Histoire générale des Peuples Slaves." Among the other historians, linguists, geographers, and anthropologists whose opinions I sum up in the course of this work, it suffices to mention Cantu, H. Martin, Amédée Thierry, A. Maury, Latham, Malte-Brun, Prichard, Pruner-bey, &c. No one, I think, will doubt the authority of these writers, or the impartiality of the conclusions arrived at by them many years before the events of the Prussian War could be divined.

† Let us remark, in passing, that the same writers almost always depict the Gauls with characteristics so similar, that some learned men of our day have reckoned them as descended from the German stock. On the other hand, relying on testimony deduced from ancient writers, from medals and monuments, others make the inhabitants of Gaul a type very different from the preceding. (See, amongst other works, "L'Ethnogénie Gauloise," by Baron Roget de Belloguet.) What I have to say, presently, as to the part played by the Allophylic races in the formation of the different

The testimonies are much less abundant and precise on the question of the Slaves. The Romans, in their days of glory, did not know them as they knew the Germans. It was different with those of the latter empire, and to those we must address ourselves to get some account of the external characteristics of these people. Thus, Amédée Thierry, giving a résumé says, "the Antes, the Slovenes, the Wends, with flaxen hair and long supple bodies."\* A passage of Procopius, quoted by Prichard, makes one think that amongst the Antes the hair was most frequently reddish. However incomplete these documents may be, they serve to show that the primitive Slaves differed from the Germans and Celts, their brethren by origin, only by very slight shades. Such is the conclusion of Prichard. Recent researches, of quite another nature, have fully confirmed his view.

Skulls of ancient Slaves show the oval and harmonious form of the purest Aryans.† The magnificent photographic album published by the Society of Natural History of Moscow shows, amongst certain modern Slaves, most characteristic traits of the races

European peoples, easily explains this difficulty, which was formerly so embarrassing.

\* "Fils et Successeurs d'Attila." Fourth article. *Revue des Deux Mondes*, t. ii. 1856.

† "Notice sur les Crânes Slaves," par le Docteur Copernicki.

of the same branch ; and it might be regarded as illustrating the accounts of some old travellers.

Lastly, there is one entire population which, preserved undoubtedly by their place of habitation from mixtures which have altered the primitive type, seem to have retained the essential features of their ancestors. These are the Gorales, or mountaineers of Galicia. Malte-Brun thus describes them after a modern traveller :\* “They appear to form a peculiar race, distinguished from other Slavic types by a slighter figure, a more marked physiognomy, a longer nose, and thinner lips. Their small eyes and prominent zygomatic bones connect them, nevertheless, with the Slaves.† More lively, more agile, more robust, more docile, and more cunning than the Slaves of the plain, they hate the latter with a hatred inherited from their forefathers.” ‡

On the other hand, descriptions due to different observers, which we may confirm for ourselves, contrast singularly with the preceding. We may all know individuals who are generally considered as

\* Schultes.

† These two characteristics evidently announce a certain mixture of Finnic blood.

‡ All these physiological or moral characteristics answer completely to what history tells us of the Slaves.

Slaves, and who regard themselves as such ; but are, nevertheless, little of stature, have dark eyes and hair, and complexion bordering on brown ; their bony structure being sometimes very delicate and slim ; sometimes stronger, but associated with a robust and rather squat form. Evidently, these are not the historic Slaves—the men of “ flaxen hair and long supple bodies,” spoken of by Amédée Thierry. Although living in their country, and speaking the same language, their physical characteristics attest the presence of a different ethnological element, for which we have to seek. This we propose to do, guided by history and by the best works on anthropology.

II. *The Fins.*—The people of whom we are about to speak, have left very few traces in history. Nevertheless, Tacitus speaks of *Fenni*, whom M. A. Maury places, without hesitation, at the mouths of the Vistula. The Phinni and the Zoumi, or Suomes, of Strabo and Ptolemy, inhabited part of Poland ; the Esths of Jornandes were established much to the south of the present Esthonians when, towards the middle of the twelfth century, the Bremens landed at the mouth of the Dwina, and set up some factories on the neighbouring coasts. Here they met a savage people, speaking an unknown jargon, who called themselves Livonians, Letts, Wends, Cours, Semigals, and

Esths.\* These were, evidently, the descendants of those of whom the classic authors spoke. But these historians, probably, only considered them as a colony, and by no means the representatives of a race which was fundamentally different from the surrounding population. Modern researches alone have, by degrees, discovered the characteristics which isolate them from the Aryans—their number, their importance, and the relationships which unite them.

Comparative philology has, in this point of view, rendered immense services, and all the progress accomplished in this direction has been due for a long time, almost to it alone. From the first it has demonstrated that the dialects spoken by these people belong to a form of language differing essentially from those spoken by the Aryan and Semitic races. All are agglutinative languages, and by their secondary characteristics are bound one to another in such a manner as to form a distinct lingual group, which is generally designated by the title of the *Finnic lingual family*.† Hence, one has been able to recognise, without much difficulty, the extent and limits of the

\* Cantu.

† The languages spoken by mankind are divided into three fundamental groups. Those most perfect are called *languages of flexion*. They are spoken exclusively by the Aryan and Semitic whites; that is to say, by the races that have attained the highest degree of civilisation. The *agglutinative* languages form the intermediate group.



human groups which distinguish themselves from their neighbours by sufficiently marked characteristics. Now this study has shown us the people of whom we are treating, though cut up into about twenty little tribes, not numbering together four million souls, and almost all geographically isolated, and distributed in clumps among the Aryan whites and the yellows.\*

The study of external characteristics permits us to take another step forward. It shows modifications in the physical type of people speaking a Finnic dialect, which connect them with the surrounding races. "The North-Altaiian," says M. Beauvois, "is connected with the Mongol beyond the Oural, with the Turk on the banks of the Volga, and with the Aryan white in the basin of the Baltic." From these facts alone, one might conclude that the Fins must have formerly occupied a more considerable tract of country, and that their small number and present

They are used by the Allophylic whites, by a large number of the yellow tribes, and by all the black races. The native American dialects, although presenting many particular characteristics, are intimately allied to this group. Lastly, the *monosyllabic* tongues represent the lowest form of language. Correctly speaking, the Chinese alone merits this epithet; but the dialects of the Himalaya, of Thibet, and of the peninsula of Further India, are allied to it, and by gradual transition connect monosyllabism with agglutination.

\* "Études sur la Race Nord-Altaique." Par M. E. Beauvois : *Revue Orientale et Américaine*, t. ix.

isolation arise, at least in great degree, from inter-marriages, that turned out to the profit of the nations that have, as it were, submerged them.

This conclusion appears still more justifiable if we reverse the terms of the problem studied by M. Beauvois, and instead of keeping to the influence of the Aryan or Mongol races upon the Fins, we inquire into what they have exercised around themselves, taking the Fins themselves as the term of comparison. We shall then very quickly acknowledge that numerous populations, differing from them in language, are closely allied to them in characteristics much less subject to change—that is to say, by stature, features, complexion, &c. Let us here quote a striking example.

In the region which we are considering, the Esthonians form the most compact and the best studied Finnic group. Summing up the descriptions given of them by different authors, one finds that these people are of middle height. Their bust is long; their legs short, and the region of the pelvis large in proportion to that of the shoulders. The features, especially in youth, are agreeable. The eyes, however, are generally deeply set; the nose, straight and but little rounded, is often too small for the width of the cheeks, and the space separating it from the mouth is too short. In complexion and colour of hair

the Esthonians present two types. Some have a clear skin and light yellowish or reddish hair; others black hair and brown complexions.\* The Esthonians, in general, lead a very rude life, and are habitually thin. "Nevertheless," adds an anatomist quoted by Prichard,† "they fatten quickly, as soon as they enjoy a little competency and an abundant regimen; but they are never either very strong or very active."

Some of the most characteristic of these traits are found amongst another people, who are neighbours of the preceding, but who always held to be distinct from them on account of their language. I speak of the *Letts*, whose tongue has given a name to a whole group of Slavic dialects, and who, on this account, have been always classed among the Slaves. "The Letts of Livonia," says a traveller,‡ "are generally of very low stature; the women especially so. One might take some of them for dwarfs. They would be plump if they were well fed. The Lettish peasants have rarely as much strength as the Germans, especially for raising and carrying weights." In Courland, the Lettish race, which forms almost all the population of the province, is superior, and yields in nothing to the Esthonians. They are becoming

\* "Atri capilli, cum subfuscâ facie."—Baer: quoted by Prichard.

† Flueck.

‡ De Storch: quoted by Malte-Brun.

more robust and capable of enduring longer fatigue. But they do not, however, approach the Aryan types of which we have spoken above, and are comparatively small and squat.

Evidently, no anthropologist would accept the Letts as brothers either of the historical Slaves of Amédée Thierry, or of the Gorales of Malte-Brun. Any one who has in the slightest degree given himself to anthropological studies, will, on the contrary, see in them the brothers of the Esthonians, led by no matter what circumstances to adopt a foreign language, without, on that account, losing the physical characteristics which betray their real affinity.

To conclude, the Esthonians are neither Germans nor Slaves; this is a universally acknowledged fact. The Letts are no more so than they are. Although speaking an Aryan language, they belong, with the former, to the group of races named by turn Tchudes, Mongolians, Turanians, and North Ouralians; but they are more generally known under the name of Finnic races, and belong to the Allophylic branch of the white stem.

## CHAPTER III.

### ORIGIN AND MIGRATIONS OF THE FINS.

Thus, in the midst of a people called Slaves, and hitherto accepted as such, we find a tribe, as pure as one can expect to meet with in Europe at the present day, of quite an alien blood. This is a very important fact, and will serve to explain many others. But before proceeding on this track we must approach a question which has much importance.

We know pretty well whence come the Slaves and Germans. We are certain, in any case, that they belong to that group of races which we call Aryan; and that they were scattered, even in barbarous times, between the banks of the Ganges and the shores of the Atlantic. But whence come the Fins? How were formed those islets in the sea of humanity, that seem lost in the midst of other races which every day encroach upon them? Formerly it was very difficult to answer these questions. One can do so now, thanks to the recent researches in pre-historic archæology and human palæontology.

In nearly every part of Europe that has been examined, traces have been found of the existence of pre-historic man. Some lived in those geological periods which preceded the one in which we exist. Their presence, then, is attested by the products of their industry, which was undoubtedly rudimentary, but in which we can also sometimes trace the germ of high instincts almost ready to develop themselves. Every artist will admire what is correct, firm, and true in some of the designs, graven with mere flints upon plates of mammoth teeth and upon reindeer horns, which have been taken out of the caves of the Madeleine, of Langerie-Basse, &c.; the ivory handles of poignards, found in the caverns or covers of Bruniquel, are worthy of our best modern ornamental sculptors. Unhappily, these workmen of palæontological times are known to us ordinarily by their works alone. Human fossils are still very rare. But, nevertheless, from the whole of the observations collected up to the present time, arise some very clear conclusions, the importance of which cannot be denied.

When the rhinoceros and the elephant, the reindeer and the musk-ox, lived in France; when the Frozen Ocean covered at least all the lands which are strewn, up to the present day, with erratic blocks; and extended, perhaps, far beyond; the part of Europe then existing had already its inhabitants. These

primitive people resembled each other by proper and common osteological characteristics. Certain details, of less importance, established distinctions among them, analogous to those which in our time separate nations, sprung from the same stem. They were divided into two very distinct types; one very tall, the other diminutive, or, at most, of middle height. Each of these types seems to have been again subdivided into two minor types, each characterised by some secondary modification.\* When the mere skeletons show distinctions of this nature, it is quite permitted to us to imagine that the exterior characteristics, such as the features, hair, and complexion, would present still more salient differences analogous to those that we meet with amongst ourselves.

Judging from the immense number of arms, tools, and utensils that have been collected, these ancient peoples must have been, in space at least, as dense as the vocation of hunters would permit. One can trace them

\* The discoveries of archæology and palæontological anthropology were scattered through a host of collections and isolated publications, when Dr. Hamy, already well-known by several interesting works on these difficult and complex questions, had the good idea to unite and arrange this collection of data in a work entitled *Précis de Paléontologie Humaine*, which is found, as an appendix, at the end of the second edition of Sir Charles Lyell's "Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man." By this, Dr. Hamy has rendered true service to science. It is to be desired that this work should be republished separately, with all the developments of which it admits.

throughout all the different phases of the quarternary period, and follow them to the beginning of modern geological times. Most certainly their descendants were the first to occupy the soil of Europe as it is now; and, without doubt, they multiplied the more the conditions of existence became, in the main, more favourable, even during the transformations, and whilst they caused a perturbation in those primitive societies of which we can still find the trace.\*

The quarternary men certainly did not people Europe alone. They were spread much more widely over the earth in those ancient times. But they were the ancestors of our Allophylic whites, who all seem to have certain common anatomical features; and all, at any rate, speak dialects pertaining to the second form of language.†

\* Dr. Hamy has rightly insisted on this fact, that the art and industry of the latter quarternary period indicate a real decline.

† "M. Pruner-bey, who first published conclusions almost identical with these, was encountered with a furious opposition. Undoubtedly there were certain exaggerations and unconnectable gaps in the opinions first formed by the eminent anthropologist, as was natural in the then state of science. Facts enable us now to set these aside, while we render justice to the author of them; and some writers who most combated his ideas seem now ready to adopt the most essential of them. (See Dr. Hamy's work.) Besides, it is ever to be understood that in expounding here what I believe to be the general meaning of the notions actually acquired, I make express reserve as to corrections which may hereafter result from the progress of science."—*De Quatrefages*.



Such is the great human formation that the Aryans invaded at different epochs, the greater number of which are hidden from us in the night of time. We have no historical or traditional documents that can teach us what passed in Europe when the two groups clashed one against another. Perhaps pre-historical archæology may, one day, throw some ray of light into this obscurity of ages. But, meanwhile, we may judge of the general results from what has passed in historical times, and almost in our own days.

The Allophylic races were conquered; they must have suffered greatly; but they were not exterminated.

To cause a race or nation entirely to disappear, exceptional circumstances are needed. The struggle must take place in a limited and bounded territory; as in an island, for example. Thus the Spaniards were able to annihilate the Caribbean race in certain isles of the archipelago in the Gulf of Mexico; but in that case, even, there were exceptions. Besides, the Caribbeans were scarcely reckoned among the populations of that quarter of the globe. On the continent it was quite different. In spite of the massacres perpetrated by the conquerors, the local races still form the base of the population in Spanish and Portuguese America. And this, notwithstanding antagonism of race, and a war in which quarter was unknown, but also, on the side of Europeans,

superiority of weapons, the force which civilisation gives, and the disdain which it inspires for the life of the savage, or of men whom it calls such.

Between the Aryans and the Allophyles there did not exist so marked a difference. The means of attack and defence were nearly the same. The untilled and forest-covered land afforded safe retreats for the primitive inhabitants. The invaders could not possibly have destroyed all the people whom they found occupying France, even had they wished to do so. The two races necessarily lived in the neighbourhood at least of one another, and must have had more or less intercourse. They would thus form alliances, and the production of a mixed population would become inevitable. In fact, the very lawlessness of a barbarous conquest produces these unions. Time, in due course, would calm hatred and soften repugnance; and the Aryans and Allophyles would mingle the more easily as the conquerors were certainly not much above the conquered in a social point of view.\* Thus began the populations with mixed characteristics, which are to be found everywhere. In some places the races settled down in juxtaposition, so to speak; occupying

\* What we know of the burial-place of Solutré, studied with so much care by M. de Ferry from an archæological point of view, and by M. Pruner-bey in relation to anthropology, justifies all that has been said.

the same country, and probably mingling in some degree, but without becoming entirely confounded. Hence would be left those clumps of a separate race, which, as mentioned before, are to be found in many parts of Europe, particularly in the regions round about the Baltic—the objects of our study.

The Esthonians, the Livonians, the Fins of Courland, and all the populations which resemble them physically, and which speak, like them, a Finnic language, are the descendants of the race of little men who lived in Europe during the quarternary period.\*

This is a fact which will certainly come out more and more by a comparison between the bones of fossil races and of persons lately dead. Even now it is

\* Here I have nothing to do with the quarternary races characterised by a lofty stature, and by a skull projecting in front and behind (the dolichocephalic race). I will only remark that the existence of these races permits one to solve, at least, in a plausible manner, some of the difficulties which have been raised in these latter years of vehement discussion. It explains the mixture of types presented by the Basque population. In this, too, one finds the origin of the Iotnes, or Finnic giants, of M. Nilsson. I may add that I think I have discovered among certain inhabitants in the heart of our Landes Bordelaises plain characteristics of one of these races (race of Cro-Magnon). Unfortunately I have not yet been able to procure some skulls, the study of which is necessary to confirm or disprove this conception, which is, however, founded upon an attentive examination of exterior characteristics. As to the great fossil race which once peopled the basin of the Danube, it is as yet too little known to permit any comparison with existing people.

difficult to entertain any remaining doubt when one is confronting the three skulls of modern Esthonians (generously presented to the Museum of Paris by the Cabinet of Natural History at St. Petersburg) with certain human remains found in France and Belgium,\* The lower jaw of two of them present, in the highest degree, the remarkable peculiarities which characterise the jaws discovered by M. Boucher de Perthes in the quarternary soil of Moulin-Quignon, and of some of those which M. Dupont dug out of the caverns so skilfully explored by him. The third offers altogether a no less striking resemblance to the fossil human heads found in the same cavern by the learned Belgian. Amongst other points of resemblance, the fossil heads and the heads of our contemporaries present in different degrees, but in each case in an extremely marked manner, that projection of the front teeth called *prognathism*, and which has been long regarded as characterising the negro races. Besides this, the fossil remains seem to indicate the existence of two types among the primitive population differing but little from one another, exactly as we find the two among the Esthonians of modern times, which is a very remarkable coincidence.

\* I have elsewhere shown the most palpable anatomical features which these skulls present, and the connections to which they lead, in a note of ancient date.—("Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie," 2e série, t. i.)

In the present state of our knowledge, everything tends to show that the Allophyles of the Baltic regions are really the direct descendants of the men who lived in France and Belgium when elephants and reindeer roamed in these countries.

Whoever conceives a just idea of the signification of the word *race*—whoever admits, as I do myself, the modifying power exercised over all living beings by the whole of the conditions of existence, or, in other words, of one's surroundings, will demand perhaps how the Esthonians can still resemble their fossil ancestors. Here we are in presence of a lapse of time as yet impossible to compute by years, but which ascends far beyond the most distant memories of humanity. During this long course of ages Europe has been the theatre of most important modifications in the soil itself, but still more in the climate. One has a right to ask if it be really possible that men can have passed through such revolutions without losing their race characters.

The geological and palæontological facts which suggest this objection, furnish at the same time the means of answering it.

The Esthonians, the Letts, and their kindred have lived under the empire of general conditions of existence that have differed but little between those distant ages and the present century. The soil and the

climate remain for them pretty much what they were for their forefathers. The latter inhabited, it is true, what are *now* the temperate parts of Europe; but they lived at the glacial epoch. Now, at that time, as I have already remarked, the sea, covered with floating icebergs, flowed over a large portion of our present continent, running up into the inhabited portions by numerous and deep gulfs. Other causes, still unknown, added to the first, the temperature was strangely low. Enormous glaciers coated all our chains of mountains and filled the valleys which now separate the Alps from the Jura. The fauna and flora were in harmony with this state of things. The elephants and rhinoceroses (which have long disappeared) were covered with thick fleece; the musk-ox, that has now retreated beyond the sixty-fourth parallel of latitude, inhabited Perigord; the reindeer descended as low as the Pyrenees. In fact, even in Southern France the climate was damp and cold, and consequently very similar to that of the present Baltic regions.

When a new geological period began; when the bottom of the sea heaved itself up, to give our continent that relief which we are now enjoying; when the temperature increased, the plants and animals for which it became too high, accompanied the ice, which receded towards the north, and peopled the lands just

uprisen. Many tribes of men would surely follow these, enticed also by habits, by the attraction of a new world opening before them, or by the necessities of the chase, as the Red-skins of America are in our days. Perhaps, also, the first Aryan invasion drove a number of the Allophyles into the rude solitudes of the basin of the Baltic, where they enjoyed liberty, until the flood of the Slaves overflowed them.\*

\* This manner of comprehending the origin and the migrations of the Fins of the Baltic is not in accord with the view of some writers of great merit, who regard them as having come from the north-east. Without entering into a discussion which would lead me too far, I confine myself to remarking that my opinion rests principally upon the data—certain, though recently acquired—on the subject of the climacteric modifications which our hemisphere has gone through. At the time when the quarternary man lived in France, the Tundras of the Jenissei and all analogous localities did not exist, or were uninhabitable. But perhaps on directing their course towards the north, after the quarternary period, these people approached the point of the primitive departure of their race. We know now that man lived in France and in California even in the tertiary period. He must have occupied, at least, a certain number of intermediate points. At this epoch the mammoth and the rhinoceros with divided nostrils lived in Siberia. (Murchison, De Verneuil, Keyserlink, and D'Archiac.) The reindeer, which M. Lartet regarded as of Asiatic origin, was doubtless their companion. These animals arrived in our latitudes nearly together, during the short period of transition which separates the tertiary from the glacial period. It is evident they fled before the cold, as the reindeer, the now sole survivor, fled in later ages before the heat. Man, who had been very well able to live amongst them in Upper Asia, must have been obliged to follow them in their migrations for the same reasons, and to obey his instinct

However this may be, retiring, step by step, before the changes in their first conditions of existence, and constantly placed in a medium climate very analogous to that which they had quitted, the inhabitants of primitive Europe could not help preserving their characteristic traits so long as no crossing with another race occurred to alter them. This is why the Esthonians of our time have all the osteological essentials of the quarternary men of France and Belgium.

for hunting. Of course, all this is conjecture; but it at least agrees with many other facts. Prehistoric archæology may perhaps tell some day if it be really well founded.



## CHAPTER IV.

### MIXTURE OF FINNIC AND ARYAN RACES.

THAT the Allophyles preceded the Aryans into Europe is incontrovertible; that its present populations resulted from the mixture of these two elements is, I repeat, what will become more and more evident, according as one studies the question more closely.

In expressing myself thus, I know that I approach delicate ground, and touch on a question obscured by one of those errors that I pointed out above, and by prejudices that I would fain combat.

In consequence of political struggles, and swayed by sentiments worthy of the most serious sympathy, but which have led them astray, some clever men have admitted the existence of a radical antagonism between the Aryan and Finnic races. *Iran* and *Turan*, they say, have ever been at feud; they could not dwell on the same soil in peace, still less unite and mingle in one people. A little attentive observation suffices to refute these exclusive theories. Even in Paris one

can, without much trouble, point out marked traces of Finnic blood. The fact is still more evident in certain parts of French territory—in the southern part of Basse-Bretagne, for example. I have found there even the women *that are nearly dwarfs*, of whom I spoke just now. We have no cause to blush for the results of the mixture. However depressed we may be at this present moment, the enemy will not be able to erase the French name from any page of history; and, verily, the sons of our old Armorica have shown themselves brave enough, in every way, for us to be able to accept, without repugnance, a certain commonness of ancestry with them.

Let us connect these facts which concern us with those which the shores of the Baltic and the basin of the Vistula present. Without having recourse to migrations of which history must have lost all trace, we shall easily explain a fact noticed by M. Duchinski. “The distinctive characteristics of the Armoricans, traced by Cæsar, have,” says this author, “much analogy with those of the Lithuanians. All Poles who have sojourned in Bretagne agree in finding innumerable points of resemblance between the present Bretons and their fellow-countrymen, especially those who border on Lithuania.” This is because the mixture of Finnic and Aryan blood has worked in both countries. Only, in the basin of the Baltic the Allo-

phylic has united with the Slavic race ; among us it has crossed with the Celts.

Traces of this mixture are to be found everywhere in the countries we are talking of. Malte-Brun, speaking of the Samogitians, expresses himself thus : "It appears there were two races in Samogitia, one of lofty stature descending from the Goths or the Wends, who occupied these countries in very ancient times ; the other short and squat, but hardy and robust, like the Letts."\* Samogitia is only an ancient province of Lithuania, so the inhabitants of the two could scarcely differ, and one is not surprised to find Malte-Brun regarding them as the same people. Herberstein, an old German traveller, quoted by Prichard,† characterises the population of Prussia by saying it is composed of *giants* and *dwarfs*. The diversity of races is here plainly notified, though by an exaggeration of the author. Anthropologists would not apply the term race of dwarfs either to the Goths or the Slaves.

We have now seen that, north-east of the area we are studying, there exist some Finnic groups that are almost pure. If indications do not mislead us, we shall find more elsewhere. Although perhaps a little

\* Malte-Brun, t. vi.

† Herberstein, "Researches into the Physical History of Mankind," t. iii.

taller than the Letts, or the Esthonians, the Pomeranians must be nearly related to them, judging from what several persons have told me who saw this portion of the Prussian army with their own eyes.\*

\* Among others I may mention M. Rochet, my colleague at the Anthropological Society, whose testimony has double weight, thanks to his skill as an artist and the special direction he has given to his studies.

## CHAPTER V,

### CHANGE OF LANGUAGE.

THE area which I attribute to the Finnic races is, it will be seen, much more extensive than that generally assigned to them. This is because I take physical characteristics for my guide, while, up to the present time, little else has been listened to but the teachings of language. In the study of the human race, the first have, incontestably, greater value and importance.

Invasions can do nothing, or scarcely anything, to change the stature, features, and complexion of a population. Even the mixture of races partly respects these physical characteristics; owing to *atavism*, they reappear from time to time in their first integrity, even in what has been a mongrel breed for centuries.

Not so with lingual characteristics. These may disappear rapidly enough; but are then effaced without the power of recovery. In case of conquest, the victorious race by the end of a certain time always imposes its language upon the vanquished. The

history of Europe, and indeed of the whole world, is replete with examples of this kind.

When the remembrance of this kind of change is lost, however recent it may have been, strange mistakes are liable to arise. Populations speaking the same language are referred to the self-same root, and regarded as sisters; those whose language is effaced are declared annihilated. Researches, which are often difficult, are then necessary to recover traces of the real origins, and demonstrate the united presence on a sometimes very limited territory, of very different ethnological elements. Thus the general adoption of Spanish by the descendants of the Guanches, made people believe in the extinction of this race, until M. Sabin Berthelot revealed its existence, showed that most of the Canaries belong to it, and that there are still many families whose direct ancestors fought against Bethencourt and his companions.\* Something quite similar, but accomplished on a much vaster scale, evidently came to pass in the countries of which we treat. The Slavic dialects superseded those of the Fins, because the first were spoken by the conquering race. But physical characteristics betray this usurpation. Samogitia, the Lithuanian province where the two types are still so very distinct, is at the same time that in

\* "Mémoire sur les Guanches" (*Mémoires de la Société d'Ethnologie*, t. i., et "Histoire Naturelle des Canaries).

which one hears the purest Lithuanian;\* that is to say, the Aryan language, as it most approaches the Sanskrit. The Borussian, or old Prussian, which was still spoken towards the end of the seventeenth century† by the population composed of “a mixture of giants and dwarfs” was, strictly speaking, only a dialect of the Lithuanian. Besides, Thunmann (whose ideas Malte-Brun seems to have adopted) thinks there are numerous traces of Finnic in this language, as well as in that spoken by the Letts. Here, then, philology itself confirms conclusions already justified by the study of physical characteristics.‡

When colonisation succeeds to conquest, the indigenous population, always more numerous than the invaders, for a long time forms groups, into which the strange element penetrates but very slowly, in which the language, as well as the physical characteristics, is preserved. This came to pass also in the region of

\* “The chief locality for the chief dialect of the Lithuanian is Samogitia.”—Latham, “Elements of Comparative Philology.”

† “Malte-Brun gives the date 1683 as that of the extinction of the old Prussian language.”—De Quatrefages.

‡ I ought here to remark that Adelung has contested some of these results. According to him there do not exist any Finnic words in the Lithuanian languages, excepting among the Letts, who border on the Livonians. Thunmann and Adelung also admit Gothic elements into Lithuanian. But Malte-Brun, who has made this language his special study, thinks that these resemblances may well arise from the common base of all the Indo-Germanic tongues.

which we treat. According to Thunmann, a Finnic group of this kind still existed in Eastern Prussia about 1259.\* The Livonians, the Esthonians, the Courlanders of our day are nothing else.

But in the long run the ascendancy of the dominant race necessarily sweeps all before it. The Finnic language has totally disappeared from Prussia. It will do so sooner or later in Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland. As late indeed as 1862 there remained only about two thousand individuals in the latter province who spoke one or other of the two Finnic dialects formerly in use. In Livonia twelve individuals alone speak the language of their forefathers.† A few years hence any one, guided by philology alone, will clearly think himself justified in affirming that the Livonians have disappeared.

This is the cause of the error into which both Adelung and Prichard have fallen. Each has taken account solely of data connected with language; and, finding a certain number of Gothic words in the Lithuanian dialects, they have concluded that from the Vistula to the Memel the inhabitants derived their origin from a mixture of Slaves and Germans. It is certain that no physiologist, no one at all acquainted with the phenomena of crossings, would adopt this

\* Malte-Brun.

† Latham.



view. It is not from the union of two tall races that a race of giants and dwarfs could spring.

We know now where the dwarfs came from; but whence sprung the giants? Philology now recovers all its advantages. It shows us, in the different Lithuanian dialects, some that are entirely Slavic, mixed only with some words from the Gothic. It teaches us, that the tall races of these countries is probably itself a mixed product, in which the Slavic element forms by far the principal base. The Gothic element has only entered in a slight degree, and plays an entirely subordinate part. The study of language, therefore, confirms, in all points, the historical data which show the Goths as having been expelled by the Slaves.

## CHAPTER VI.

### ARRIVAL OF THE GERMANS IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES.

WE have seen that Fins, and after them Slaves, more or less pure, more or less mixed, were, until the middle of the twelfth century, the only ethnological elements throughout the whole region, extending from Esthonia to Mecklenburg. Undoubtedly the Slavic race was dominant, and to it belonged the great majority of the wild aristocracy which ruled these tribes.\* At most, some Goths and some few Vandals stayed behind; and, accepting the yoke of the Slaves, may have mingled their blood with the latter. As to the German element, properly so called, it announces its presence by no appreciable sign, and history is absolutely mute on the subject.

Commerce, and religion as it was then understood, went to modify this state of things.

\* Malte-Brun has already made a similar observation. This author insists, at different times, but unfortunately in a general manner, on the points of difference which distinguished the Pruzzi chiefs from their vassals.

In 1158 a ship from Bremen, freighted for the Isle of Gothland, was driven by the winds to the mouth of the Dwina.\* The merchants on board found tribes on these coasts living very much like the savages of the present day; and, like them, very willing to exchange rich furs for salt, common cloth, and other things required by society when in its infancy. The Hanseatic traders hastened to this new mart, to share in the benefits of a commerce resembling that now carried on with the Red Indians of North America. In the same manner they sent agents to establish themselves at the most favourable points, and built a fort at each for the protection of their persons and merchandise from native aggression, and from Danish pirates.

Thus the German race gained a footing upon the land of the Slaves. In any case, they would scarcely have forsaken the coast if they obeyed merely the impulse produced by commercial interests. A more powerful motive ere long led them into the interior of the country. St. Adalbert, Archbishop of Prague, tried, in 997, to introduce Christianity amongst the Pruczi or Prutzi; a people that history mentions for the first time about this period, as occupying nearly the present Eastern Prussia, and consisting of numerous tribes, which seemed bound together by a common sacerdotal organisation. It is clear that these primitive

\* Cantu, Malte-Brun.

Prussians were zealous for their religion; for, when Adalbert penetrated into the sacred precincts of their sanctuary, called Romow or Romowe, he was massacred, as having committed sacrilege. About a century passed without any other attempt at conversion.

In 1106 a monk, named Maynard, joined the merchants, and resumed this interrupted work, addressing himself to the Livonians. When these threatened him, he built several forts, sending for all the materials by sea. The title of Bishop of Yaküll rewarded this active and conquering zeal. Maynard was succeeded by two warlike prelates; men, who, in the ardour of proselytism, were willing to forget the horror which the Church professes at the effusion of human blood. The first, Berthold, a Saxon by origin, was expelled by force of arms; but returned at the head of an army, defied the Livonians, and was himself killed whilst in their pursuit. The second, Albert of Asseldern, aided by the Emperor and the King of Denmark, put himself at the head of a crusade, landed, with twenty-three vessels on the northern banks of the Dwina; and there, in 1200, built the city of Riga, where he occupied the episcopal throne for twenty-eight years.

To secure less precarious assistance than that of crusades, the warlike bishop called some German

nobles around him, and distributed the conquered lands amongst them, subject to the tenure of military service. He also founded the order of Sword-bearing Knights, who subdued the Esthonians.

Christian, the Apostle and Bishop of Prussia, followed the example of Albert, and instituted the Brothers of the Militia of Christ. But in a battle, which lasted two days, the Prussians slew all the knights of this order but five. Then Christian called upon the Teutonic Knights (who were already illustrious through their combats against the infidels in the East), imploring them to succour his propaganda. Eagerly did they obey the call; and, uniting with the Sword-bearers, whose identity was soon lost in theirs, they began a bloody war upon the pagans of the Baltic, into which Poland was often dragged, as she was also threatened by the invading body of knights, and was often called by the Prussians to their aid.

We have not to relate all the turns of fortune in these struggles. Suffice it to record, that in the beginning of the fifteenth century the Teutonic order possessed Esthonia, Livonia, Courland, Samogitia, Prussia, Pomerania, and Posen; in other words, they were masters of the greater part of the territorial area that we are now studying.

In their struggles with the natives the knights were aided by colonists, called from all parts, but especially

from Germany, who established themselves as citizens in the towns, while the open country was left to the Slavo-Finnic race. The great majority of the knights were Germans. Thus, in every place which the fortune of war gave them, they, by violence, imposed the Christian religion, their laws, and the German language.\* This is how the German race penetrated into the heart of the local populations. This is, above all, how their language, the tongue of the conqueror, dispossessed the different Slavonic dialects in Prussia, Brandenburg, &c., and how it penetrated more and more into Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland. If the victory of Tannenberg, gained by the Poles in 1410, had not stopped the development of the Teutonic power; if Poland had been subdued, as were the countries bordering it on the north, no doubt the Polish language would have disappeared in the same manner, and the country of the Jagellons would now be proclaimed German territory.

The accession of the reigning house of Prussia must have given activity and extent to the transformation, the causes of which we seek. In 1411 Frederick, Count of Hohenzollern and Burgrave of Murberg, obtained the March of Brandenburg and dignity of Elector from the Emperor Sigismund of Hungary for the price of four hundred thousand golden florins.

\* Cantu, Malte-Brun specially insist upon this last fact.

One of his descendants, Albert, Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, took up with Luther's Reformation, and secularised the Military Order that had chosen him for its chief. As a reward he was recognised hereditary Duke of Eastern Prussia, under the sovereignty of Poland. In 1618, by his daughter's marriage with John Sigismund, this fief returned to the reigning house of Brandenburg, whilst Western Prussia remained a Polish province. I need not relate how successive divisions have upset this arrangement.

Thus disappeared the empire founded by the Teutonic Knights, after having lasted nearly three centuries; thus began the new empire that now weighs upon the destinies of France.\* One sees how Cantu could with justice say that the history of Prussia, at its beginning, was a consequence of, or rather an episode in, the history of the crusades.

In passing actually into the hands of a German prince, while keeping, with the title of "noble," the greater number of the old knights of the same origin, the country necessarily became Germanised more and more in the upper classes, whilst the basis of the population remained the same. Indeed the Slavo-Finnic element that first conquered it was far from having disappeared, even among the nobility. The ancient aris-

\* The Peace of Cracow, which ratified these great changes, was signed in 1525.

tocracy of the Pruzzi did not struggle for their independence with the perseverance and tenacity manifested by the people. Malte-Brun several times returns to this point, and Cantu confirms his general ideas by a number of details. Some of the early native chiefs accepted the yoke of the Teutonic Knights. Several even entered their ranks. Their descendants thus necessarily took place, side by side, with the secularised German Knights and their offspring. Without doubt this was the origin of more than one noble Prussian family; and genealogical researches, made with this point in view, would have a real ethnological interest.



## CHAPTER VII.

### FRENCH IMMIGRATION IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

I WILLINGLY acknowledge that the first cause of all crusades has been a desire to propagate the Christian faith in some form of belief—strangely interpreted, it is true. However, in their course they always stirred up, and satisfied, purely terrestrial passions, ambition, and the love of lucre. The warlike orders which they brought forth—the Teutonic in particular—were soon distinguished for being swayed by them.\* Other religious events and purer motives introduced into Prussia, and especially into Brandenburg, an ethnological element very different from those we have been considering.

As early as 1614 the Margrave, John George, re-

\* The pride and luxury of the Teutonic Knights yielded in no degree to all that has been said of the Templars. At a dinner given in 1363 by the Grand Master, Wallenrod, to a dozen of the most distinguished knights in his army, the repast consisted of no less than thirty courses. The guests sat under canopies of cloth of gold. They were served in gold and silver vessels, changed at each course, and at the conclusion each guest was presented with those he had used.

nounced the tenets of Luther and embraced those of Calvin. His successors remained firmly attached to this branch of Protestantism. But Prussia was the only great Calvinistic Court in Germany. When, forgetting his promises and the opinions of his youth, Louis XIV. began to persecute the French reformers, some of them emigrated to the opposite banks of the Rhine. Being badly received by the Lutheran princes, they applied to those who held the same doctrines with themselves. Frederick William, then reigning in Brandenburg, comprehended the importance of this movement, and immediately set everything in train to lead an honest, hard-working people into his states, perceiving that they would bring with them elements of prosperity unknown in the North, and would fill up the gaps left by the Thirty-years' War, and by the conflicts with Poland. This intelligent policy bore abundant fruit. As early as 1672 a French community existed at Berlin which was authorised to perform these religious services in their mother tongue, and one of their number was grand equerry to the sovereign.\*

Hardly had Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes, when the Elector replied by the Edict of Potsdam,†

\* Charles Weiss, "History of the French Protestant Refugees; from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes to our Times."

† The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes was signed October 22nd, 1685; the Edict of Potsdam is dated the 29th of the same month.

which opened a Fatherland, in the fullest extent of the term, to the French emigrants. His representatives in other states received orders to smooth for them all the difficulties of the journey. The goods they brought were freed from all rights and customs. To the agriculturists were given the houses and lands whose possessors had disappeared, and their property was exempted from taxes for six years. To mechanics he granted, at the first onset, the right of citizenship in the towns, and entrance into the trade corporations. To gentlemen he secured the rights and prerogatives of the native nobility. Special commissioners were created to superintend the carrying out of these measures. Institutions were founded to lend money, to provide for their first wants, and to prepare for the future. The refugees were allowed to have, as in France, their courts of justice, consistories, and synods. Lastly, all business concerning them was transacted in French.\*

\* "The example of the Elector was followed by almost all the princes connected with the house of Brandenburg. Among them one ought to mention Charles I., Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. Without even waiting for the Edict of Revocation, he offered an asylum to the persecuted Huguenots. The town of Cassel, then numbering only eighteen thousand inhabitants, received three thousand, and the Landgraviate five or six thousand, of whom about one hundred and fifty were heads of families belonging to the nobility."—Charles Weiss, "History of the French Protestant Refugees, from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes to our Times."

It is not surprising that, attracted by such great advantages, the French Protestants pressed in crowds to Brandenburg. Their conscientious historian, Charles Weiss, estimates their number at twenty-five thousand men, without reckoning those who did not wait till the last moment.

This is a high figure when compared with the native population. At the death of the Elector, Prussia reckoned only a million and a half inhabitants. Evidently the refugees must have brought a great increase of prosperity to these provinces, arriving, as they did, just after the latter had been depopulated by war. History represents them as, almost unaided, rebuilding the towns destroyed by Tilly and his rivals, and erecting new, and the finest, quarters in the capital. It tells that they founded colonies, repopled whole districts, and cleared large tracts that had been abandoned for forty years.\*

Besides, to appreciate at its just value the part played by the Huguenots in Brandenburg, it is not enough to number them: we must remember the services they rendered their adopted country, and the position it has been able to acquire through the same.

\* Among other examples of this kind, C. Weiss mentions the Grafschaft of Ruppín, which had scarcely any inhabitants left, and was brought again into cultivation by French labourers. Ruppín is in the very heart of Brandenburg, and only some leagues from Berlin.

We cannot here enter into details, but refer to C. Weiss's work, as well as to the German writers from whom he has drawn his facts. It will be easy to become convinced that this new element, imported from a country which was more advanced in every respect, gave the entire Prussian nation an unexpected impulse. Almost all the sources of public welfare were renewed and considerably increased—from the culture of flower and kitchen gardens to that of the fields;\* from the manufacture of common stuffs to weaving and dyeing silk and brocade; from button-making and hat-making to jewellery; from the art of digging metals out of the earth to that of working in them. Thanks to the fugitives that she had welcomed, Prussia escaped the most of the taxes she had formerly paid to other states to provide for her consumption, and rendered them tributary in their turn.

It must be confessed that Prussia knew how to recognise the services thus rendered her. In consequence of the liberal arrangements of the Edict of Potsdam, no refugee sunk into the lowest classes of the population. The most humble were free colonists, and soon became cultivators, in easy circumstances; or they took their places among small shopkeepers, and were not long in rising, through their intelligence and

\* Among cultures introduced into Brandenburg by the French, one may mention that of tobacco.

industry. A great many established themselves, from the beginning, in the first rank of extensive commerce and large manufactures, which from them received quite a new impulse. At the same time, the court, diplomacy, the army, and the magistracy, were thrown open to a number of French families, several of whom have left historic names. Others rendered themselves illustrious in science, literature, and the arts. Many of their families are still in existence; I could not mention all, the list would be too long. There are some, however, like those of Ancillon and Savigny, which are universally known. In our time, the colony has worthily sustained its old reputation in every respect. But I will abstain from recalling origins, which the owners seem to wish should be forgotten.\* I will only remark that, in consequence of alliances contracted with local families, France can claim her part in the ethnological origin of many illustrious persons bearing names that are quite German. It is sufficient to mention the two Humboldts—Prussian on their father's, French on their mother's side.

The whole of France was represented in the Protestant emigration to Brandenburg. But the provinces

\* A great number of these families have disguised and Germanised their names, either by changing the spelling, or by translating those that had any meaning: such as Lacroix, Sauvage, &c.

of the centre and south furnished the larger part. Metz and her territory sent, it is true, about three thousand refugees, who nearly all settled in Berlin. But, although leaving the city that Germany has taken from us, these last were, in no respect, Germans. Their names, which have been preserved, all testify to a French origin. Anjou, Poitou, the Isle of France, Bearn, and Orange, each gave a considerable contingent. It seems, also, that Upper and Lower Languedoc were represented in a special manner in this exodus; thanks to the efforts and activity of two brothers, François and Jacques de Gaultier. There were the workmen of Nismes, Montpellier, Beziers, and their environs, who carried with them the art of weaving different woollen stuffs; and Pierre Labry, a native of Vigan, introduced the kind of stocking-weaving into Prussia which is still popular in our Cevennes.

Thus the purest French blood has penetrated everywhere throughout the province of Brandenburg, the very heart of the kingdom of Prussia. At the present day this blood flows in the veins of the upper and lower citizens, in the upper and lower nobility.\* By searching well, we should find, without doubt, that the great majority of those composing the upper ten

\* The reigning family has even some drops of French blood; for Frederick William married the granddaughter of our Coligny.

thousand have received a share, either in a direct or indirect line.

This community of race has not awakened sympathy for us in Prussia—quite the contrary, perhaps. Pure or mixed, these descendants of the refugees from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes are quite as Prussian in heart and sentiment as are their fellow-countrymen of Slavic, Finnic, or German origin. They proved this at the time of the invasions of Napoleon and the War of Independence; they loudly proclaimed it at the beginning of the recent war by some of their most distinguished representatives.

France must feel pain at finding that the descendants of her own sons are her enemies. But she must own that she has no right to reproach them. In days of yore, she, with very rare exceptions, associated herself fully in the great fault, the great crime of Louis XIV.; she hunted out the Huguenots by refinements of persecution and cruelty such as the very executioners of pagan Rome did not invent. She met them, soon after, on the battle-field—on it she has now again found their descendants. Verily, they are not the least formidable of our adversaries. In those anathemas which pietist Prussia has hurled against Catholic France, there is, without the least doubt, a distant echo of our old religious wars; and one knows too well what an inexhaustible source of wrath and



hatred men have made of that teaching which its Founder condensed into two precepts:—Fear God; Love your neighbour.

In spite of their too just resentments, the French of Prussia preserved the language of their mother-country and spread it everywhere. The interested partiality of Frederick II. came to their aid in this point of view. French replaced Latin in the academy at Berlin; it was long the only language used in the colony; it penetrated into the most distant provinces with the new arts, industries, and methods of agriculture. For a moment one would believe that this peaceful conquest would go on to its end, and that the German would submit to the same fate that it had imposed on so many other languages. But a quick reaction, which had its source in sentiments which we recognise to be just and true, soon restored superiority to the tongue of the Fatherland. The wars of the Empire helped on this movement. The descendants of the refugees, espousing in everything and for everything the sentiments of the population that had so hospitably received their ancestors, were inclined more and more to mix themselves up with them. They added the language of their adopted country to that which they inherited from their forefathers. Religious usages clearly helped on the progress of this revolution. Until 1819, Berlin possessed seven churches where

service was performed exclusively in French. After that year, they preached alternately in French and German. Since 1830, German has prevailed. In many large towns which formerly had a French church, they now preach in French only once a year. In the smaller towns and villages, the French language has been long suppressed.\*

But, at the same time, the tradition of the French language is not yet lost in families. This explains a fact which became of great moment in the recent war, and in the events which immediately followed it. Men were to be found only too easily in all ranks of the Prussian population and army who spoke French purely and without a German accent. These had no difficulty in passing themselves off as Frenchmen, in slipping in everywhere, in surprising and betraying what it was most important for us to conceal, and in preaching undiscipline and insurrection. In truth, if Linnæus had lived in our time, he would not have failed to inscribe the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the consequences which this act has brought upon France, in his "Nemesis divina." †

\* C. Weiss.

† Linnæus admitted the doctrine of punishment of the fathers in their children in all its rigour. He thus explains the misfortunes which, personally unmerited, overtake both individuals and families. (See a curious article by M. Geffroy, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.)

## CHAPTER VIII.

### INTELLECTUAL AND MORAL CHARACTERISTICS.

THERE is a class of characteristics less easy to define than those which, until now, we have been examining ; and which are not the less real. I mean the instincts, aptitudes, good qualities, and faults, which give to each phase of civilisation, to each human society, its physiognomy, and its historical significance. In cases of crossing, these characteristics fare as do the others. Each race brings his share to the common fund, and the mongrel race cannot refuse its heritage. It is therefore important to inquire, from this point of view, what elements are now more or less in fusion among the Prussians.

The Fin of the Baltic, as history paints him, and as he is still in our time wherever his race is preserved, is hard-working enough ; moderately industrious ; patient, but obstinate ; hospitable, but not very familiar with strangers. Endowed with poetical, and especially with musical instincts, he was, and is still, very much attached to his traditions and to his religious or

superstitious tenets. Loving independence, he has courageously resisted conquest, has often revolted, and although reduced almost everywhere to the harshest serfdom, he has generally preserved a certain personal pride. Unhappily all the good in this picture is marred by a quality which seems to be thoroughly national. The Fin never pardons a real or supposed offence, avenges it on the first opportunity, and is not fastidious in his choice of means. Thus is explained the frequency of assassination in Finland amongst the peasants.\*

Nothing indicates that the spirit of conquest has ever animated the Finnic populations; but, on the other hand, this spirit has shown itself strongly among the Slaves, as among all the Aryans that have appeared in Europe. Like all his kindred, the Slave arrived a barbarian; he had the good qualities and the faults of savage life, very well depicted by M. A. Thierry.† He was always distinguished by his manner of fighting. His war was that of ambuscades. He excelled in lurking behind a rock, in crawling amid long grass, in hiding himself for whole days, waiting

\* See Prichard and Malte-Brun, also an article by M. Geffroy—“La Finlande et le Kalevala” (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, Jan. 15, 1871). The greater number of these traits of character answer perfectly to the little we know of the Pruzi or primitive Prussians.

† See “Les Fils et Successeurs d’Attila” (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, Nov. 1, 1854).

for the enemy, to hurl at him unawares a poisoned javelin.

I do not here intend to speak of the German and French races. Under existing circumstances, I should be accused of injustice and partiality. I confine myself to pointing out the different parts played by each in the country which they occupy. The Germans entered Prussia as ruthless conquerors, and imposed a yoke on the population which excited numerous and terrible revolts. It was by fire and sword they secured their rule. The French introduced an infinitely superior civilisation, arts, industry, and many other elements of peaceful progress. The difference of age and circumstances is evidently the principal cause of this contrast. I am the first to confess that French crusades would scarcely have been conducted otherwise than were those of the Teutonic Knights. But, whatever may have been the causes, the facts are undeniable, and it is not without interest to state them.

## CHAPTER IX.

### FUSION OF RACES. ACTION OF SURROUNDINGS. THE PRUSSIAN RACE.

It is generally believed that when two or more races of the same species cross, the offspring is at first, and always, intermediary between the parents. This is a great mistake. The phenomena of crossings are very differently multiplied and complicated.

In repeated unions between races, each of the primitive types may preponderate in turn, and announce its ascendancy in very different proportions. Besides, from the combination of different features, qualities, and aptitudes, new characteristics are every moment produced, much in the same manner as green results from the mixture of yellow and blue. Often, also, *atavism* steps in, however complete the mixture, and resuscitates the first elements in some manner. In the long run, however, all are drawn together, in a way referring more or less to the original stems, while it imposes a special imprint, and the crossed or mongrel race ends by constituting a new type.

These phenomena are necessarily accomplished in Prussia, as well as everywhere else; and necessarily the higher classes of society, as well as the citizens, have receded from the Germanic races, of which they claim to form part. Then, again, in man, as in animals, blood is not everything in the constitution of a race; surroundings never lose their rights. Always, and everywhere, they stamp their impress on organised and living beings subject to their influences. Man cannot escape this law.

In the country of which we are treating, the crossing has been between two local and two immigrant races. The first two, fashioned in the lapse of ages to the special influences of the basin of the Baltic, had no modifications to undergo when the moment came for fresh mixture. The Fin or the Slave might ameliorate the conditions of his existence, change his religion, cultivate his mind, and raise his intelligence, but his fundamental nature must necessarily remain the same. It could not be the same with the German from Swabia, or the Frenchman from the basin of the Mediterranean. Both having to submit to entirely new influences would inevitably modify.

Experience has long shown that, in such a case, the modification always tends in the direction of the

local races.\* The German and the Frenchman would naturally turn into a Slave or a Fin. The particular circumstances which accompanied or caused their emigration would also aid this movement. The Teutonic Knight, quite as desirous of conquering as of converting the pagans, and the rude colonist whom he called to his aid, would have to combat nature as well as man; the emigrants from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes would have to surmount the difficulties of their position. These conflicts took place on a sterile soil, and under an inclement sky. In such a school intelligence grew, the will strengthened, the passions and the body acquired endurance; but the heart hardened, ambition developed itself, and religion too often took a savage character. It was no longer the God in Christ, the common Father of all men, whom they invoked, but Jehovah, the Avenger.†

\* I cannot here explain this series of propositions relative to the formation and constitution of races. But I may be permitted to mention that they are contained in a collection of researches that have been published during a course of many years either in my "Cours au Muséum," or in various other periodicals. (See, among others, "Rapport sur les Progrès de l'Anthropologie," 1857, and my "Leçons d'Anthropologie," in the *Revue des Cours Scientifiques*, 1868.)

† One knows only too well what has been the game played in Prussia for many years by the pietist party, and all that that party has done to foment and envenom hatred against France. Even at Berlin, a few wiser and juster minds protested several years ago



Thus began, and thus was constituted the Prussian race; a race perfectly distinct from the races of Germany, both by its ethnical origin, and by its acquired characteristics.\* Moreover, the elements which gave birth to this new type are not as yet entirely fused. In spite of a varnish of civilisation, borrowed especially from France, the race is still in its middle age. This will explain some of its hatreds and violence.

In expressing myself thus, I have no intention to overlook or deny any of the vigorous and important qualities of the Prussians. The grief of the moment does not conceal from me that there is much in them really estimable, and for their friends, perhaps, really amiable. One gains nothing by unjustly depreciating an enemy. If conqueror, one diminishes the glory of the triumph; if conquered, one increases the shame of the defeat. Besides, in any case, we ought to render justice to everybody. But it is quite permitted to a Frenchman to be only strictly *just* towards a race that for more than half a century has taken up the annihi-

against such ravings. Is there one there now who would have the same courage? See an article by M. Ath. Coquerel,—“Le Parti Piétiste, et Varnhagen de Ense,” in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Feb. 1, 1871.

\* M. Godron, though only giving an account of the mixture of Slaves and Germans, and considering only some traits of their characters, said, with truth,—“The Prussians are neither Germans nor Slaves; the Prussians are the Prussians.”

lation of France as its set task ; that has loudly proclaimed this aim of its ambition ; that has rendered it within the limits of the possible ; partly by means on which light now begins to break, and which history will impugn, if even the whole civilised world does not demand an account. Calumniated every day by paid newspapers, and even in official documents, we are quite right to protest, and to show that we are not what our enemies make us, and that they are far from being what they pretend to be.

The history of the siege of Paris would suffice for this double task. Some day it will be written in detail, and the time will come when more than one of our present enemies will render justice to a population of two millions, who from the first to the last day showed themselves equally ready to suffer and to fight, and who wanted nothing but leaders.

But I must leave to others the task of tracing this picture with the detail which it needs. As professor at the Museum, I confine myself to sketching, by way of episode, what passed in that establishment during the bombardment.

## CHAPTER X.

### BOMBARDMENT OF THE MUSEUM.

THE Museum of Paris, with the gardens and buildings dependent on it, forms an irregular quadrilateral, bounded by a quay and three streets, and covering a surface of 225,430 square metres. On the south a line of houses completes the Rue de Buffon, and conceals a large area with which I have here nothing to do, although it contains the laboratories of comparative anatomy and of vegetable physics, as well as nurseries, placed in the neighbourhood of private gardens and tan yards. To the east flows the Seine, which is very wide at this point. To the north is the mart for wines and brandy, measuring 141,700 square metres. At the west stands the Hospital of La Pitié, its buildings and courts occupying 21,777 square metres.\*

\* These figures are taken from the "Dictionnaire Administratif et Historique des Rues et Monuments de Paris," by MM. F. and L. Lazare. The materials for this work are taken from the most official sources, one of its authors being a chief of the Voirie de Paris.

It is important to give these figures, that the facts may be appreciated at their full value. In the first place, they show that the Museum is completely isolated.

Add to this, that a shed, destined as a military ambulance, had been put up, from one end of the garden to the other, along a path leading from the large court to the quay. Another ambulance, founded and served by some ladies connected with the Museum, had been set up near the Rue Cuvier. The enemy, always so well informed, was certainly ignorant of none of these details. They knew very well that our great scientific establishment contained absolutely nothing which was capable of being made useful for either attack or defence, and that it had become actually a branch of the Hospice de la Pitié.\*

Under such conditions, it would have been very allowable to have regarded ourselves safe from bombardment. Nevertheless, in consequence of the officially repeated threats and the language of the German newspapers, the council of professors, charged with the

\* At the beginning of the siege they had, it is true, placed a certain number of oxen in the walk which skirts the Rue de Buffon, in the portion comprised between the botanical gallery and the quay. The governors of the Museum had in vain begged that they might be taken away; but this alimentary reserve had been exhausted a long time when the fire opened upon Paris, and the Prussians knew it well, for very few of their shells went in that direction. Neither had the Museum, like other establishments in Paris, a *dépôt* of arms and ammunition. Nor did it serve for an encampment.

administration of the Museum, had, from the beginning of the siege, taken all necessary precautions for the safety of its scientific riches. The nature of the establishment required special measures. First of all we had to ward off the danger resulting from the accumulation in our halls of at least seventy thousand vases or bottles, containing preparations, plants, and animals, preserved in alcohol.\* Servants and professors took the work in hand. In a few days this mass of inflammable objects were in safety, in a kind of crypt excavated under the great labyrinth. The most precious articles, the unique specimens, the entire collections, the value of which arose from their being kept together, were carried down into the cellar. During three months this seemed just so much useless trouble. But on the 8th of January, between ten and eleven o'clock at night, and without any summons, there burst upon us this bombardment, which called forth a solemn protest from the neutral powers.

Does not one here recognise the Slave as he is painted by classic authors, and by M. Amédée Thierry? There is only the difference of age and science. Instead of the javelins of his ancestors, the Prussian sent us, without notice, his shells from a long range.

\* The collection of reptiles and fish alone amounted to about thirty thousand.

Projectiles rained upon the Museum and its neighbourhood. Professors, employés of all grades, masters, servants went down into the cellars, or sought shelter in the subterranean galleries contiguous to the hot-houses. Without doubt, it was impossible that a certain emotion should not be shown at the first moment. And certainly, when two shells, bursting one after the other, knocked all to pieces the orchid house and the house for slips at a few metres only from a crowd of women and children, there were moments of agony, and cries of fright. But we soon grew accustomed to the whistling and explosion of projectiles. All those who passed some nights in the crypt can attest how rapidly calm was restored. They will long remember the mixture of resignation and indifference that reigned there : the just observations, the firm and serious reflections, which issued from the humblest lips in the most naïve language. The pietists of Berlin would most certainly have been strangely surprised. Without doubt, even in those terrible moments, French gaiety betrayed itself by impromptu sallies. But is it a sign of demoralisation and mental turpitude to be able to laugh and joke under a shower of shells ?

The services of the Museum, which are always very complex, went on, nevertheless, with their accustomed regularity. Animals and plants were attended to as

usual. In spite of his eighty-five years, our illustrious and venerable director, M. Chevreuil, walking about the establishment by day, sitting up each night in the hot-houses, and only lying down to rest at dawn, set us all an example which each wished to imitate. Thus, in all the numerous and varied duties of the Museum, there was no falling off for a single instant. The moral effect, so much expected and so loudly proclaimed by the Prussians, was absolutely *nil*. In proof of this, it is sufficient to say that the breaches in the galleries were filled up, and the highest panes of glass in the hot-houses were replaced as soon as broken, whilst the shells whistled over the heads of the workmen.

After all, thanks to the precautions taken, the havoc caused by the shells was principally in material, and not very great. The hot-houses lost, it is true, some choice plants, which were only cultivated by us, and which would have spread through us over the whole of Europe. The collections brought from Mexico were smashed up, and science has to regret some specimens, some new objects, the study of which had only commenced. In the cabinets of conchology some rare types disappeared, and many of the drawers were literally turned upside down. But the losses might have been much graver and much more numerous. In the galleries of zoology, a stuffed crocodile lost his

head, and some lizards, also stuffed, were disembowelled. Among our living animals, one parrot was killed. None of the employés were wounded.

This is the account of the bombardment of the Museum.

Was this bombardment intentional and premeditated? or did this scientific establishment only receive some stray shells?—to use a Prussian expression. Facts will quickly answer this question, and the reader shall be the judge.

From the 8th to the 25th of January, the Museum and its annexes received ninety-five shells, of which eighty-six reached the Jardin des Plantes, properly so called; La Pitié had forty-seven; five fell into the street which separates these two establishments.\* Thus at least 135 shells fell on a space of about 25 hectares.† But they were scattered over it neither in a regular manner, nor by chance. Let us see how they were distributed over the Jardin des Plantes.

If a line be drawn from the building used for comparative anatomy to the eastern end of the galleries of mineralogy, it will divide the grounds of the Museum into two very unequal portions.

\* The part of the Rue Geoffroy-Saint-Hilaire, along which La Pitié extends, is about 200 metres long, and 10 metres broad. It thus represents nearly 2,000 square metres, to be added to the figures given at the beginning of this chapter.

† The hectare is = 2 acres.—(Translator.)



The first, which ends at the quay, is occupied mostly by the menagerie, the school of botany, and the frames for forcing. On the side of the Rue Cuvier it is bordered by the lodgings of three professors, also those of a certain number of employés, and by the collections of anthropology and comparative anatomy united in one building. It comprehends about 150,955 square metres. The second contains only 74,475 square metres. In it are the lodgings of nine professors and of some employés, the administration, all the laboratories, and the stores of zoology, all the galleries of zoology, botany, mineralogy, geology, and palæontology, besides the hot-houses and temperate-houses placed at the base of the great and little labyrinth.

Of these two surfaces, one being more than double the other, the larger received eighteen shells, the smaller sixty-eight.

But further—If, starting from the little ambulance belonging to the ladies of the Museum (the old hot-house), you pass between the two labyrinths\* and the two large hot-houses, in order to come out a little above the middle of the gallery of mineralogy, you divide the most injured part of the garden into two nearly equal

\* Every one who has visited the Museum knows that the name of "labyrinth" is given to two artificial hills of unequal size; the highest having a pavilion at the top, which serves as a belvedere.

portions. Now of these, the parts comprehending the little labyrinth received only twenty-two projectiles; all the others, forty in number, fell into that in which the great labyrinth rises, surmounted by its belvedere.

The great labyrinth alone, with the hot-houses at its base, received twenty-five shells. The houses were struck as early as the night of the 8th of January; and the last shell, destined for the Museum, burst on the terrace of the labyrinth on the 25th, at ten o'clock at night. Let us add, that a great number of the projectiles that fell short of, or beyond the same structure, would have hit it, had the range not been too short or too long.

These figures, these striking particulars, will necessarily refute the strange excuse invented by the Prussian authorities and press, to explain why hospitals and monuments were so often struck. It is evident that projectiles, directed by those artillerymen whose formidable skill we have so often felt, did *not go astray* in such great numbers, in a constant manner, and during seventeen days upon one point, so well determined, as our great labyrinth; being distributed almost regularly around it, and becoming more and more rare as they were farther away. This distribution was not the work of chance: it is explained by a very simple observation.

The artificial hill of the great labyrinth, which is only separated from La Pitié by a narrow terrace and the Rue Geoffroy-Saint-Hilaire, furnished a mark laid down in all plans and maps. The enemy evidently made use of it. To this mark he pointed his cannon; putting, perhaps, a little uncertainty in the aim, in order to scatter the shots in the environs. But he knew how to correct this uncertainty when needful. Here is a proof:—

The first few days the shells fell nearly exclusively south of the hill. During this period the hot-house, the galleries of zoology and mineralogy, and the end of the ambulance built in the great walk were struck. The historical house of Buffon, standing alone at the south-west angle of the garden, and containing three lodgings for professors, was literally hemmed in by shells, and was only saved by a kind of miracle. After the 19th, the fire was directed, in quite as constant a manner, to the north of the labyrinth. Then the laboratories and stores belonging to the mammals, the birds, the mollusca, the zoophytes, the reptiles, the fishes, the insects, were struck, besides the building of the administration, partly occupied by M. Brogniart and his family, the house of Cuvier, and that of Jussieu, as well as the one in which M. Becquerel lives. M. Deshayes was nearly struck in his laboratory. M. Edwards had his bed nearly crushed by the

rubbish falling on it. A shell burst close to M. Chevreuil's study, in such a manner that, had he not been absent, the illustrious senior of all living chemists would have been killed at his work-table.

It is evident that, having heard of the immunity which one-half of the condemned area had enjoyed for a fortnight, the artillerymen corrected their aim.

Will they say that these shells were destined for the wine-mart; and that, for want of sufficient impulsive force, they fell a little short of it? I reply,—such was *not* the case.

The mart, by reason of its extent, might be quite as easily sighted as the Museum; and the Prussians sent its share of shells perfectly distinct. When, on the night of the 17th, the brandy stores caught fire, the enemy, informed by the blaze, very well knew how to send a dozen shells there in quick succession, that not only did not fall short of, but fortunately passed the mark. When the fire was put out, the range was again shortened, the shells fell once more upon the Museum, and one burst upon the labyrinth some metres from the roof of our hot-houses, already so battered. The professors, who were assembled in council when this happened, and those who had passed the preceding night in the hot-houses—and I was of that number—can confirm these statements.

Thus one sees that the declaration made by our

director to the Academy of Sciences, is incontestably true.\* The Museum has been bombarded. The Prussians wilfully scattered their shells, armed with incendiary tubes, all around our labyrinth, which they made their target.

In acting thus, our enemies had the *absolute certainty* that they would only hit modest edifices set apart for humanity or science; would only kill sick people, the wounded, doctors, and learned men. Was this what they desired? Certainly not! I am far from charging them with such cold-blooded useless cruelty. But they caught at the chance of annihilating these collections, which, taken as a whole, are absolutely unrivalled; and which naturalists, from all parts of the world, and consequently from Germany, are continually obliged to come and consult. To destroy them was to take from this Paris that they execrate, from this *Babylon* that they curse, one of its elements of supe-

\* These are the words of the declaration:—"The Jardin des Plantes Médicinales, founded in Paris by an edict of King Louis XIII., dated the month of January, 1526; made a Museum of Natural History by decree of the Convention of June 10th, 1793; was bombarded in the reign of William III., King of Prussia—Count von Bismarck being his chancellor—by the Prussian army, in the night between the 8th and 9th of January, 1871. Until this time it had been respected by all parties, and by all national and foreign powers." This declaration will be engraved, sooner or later, on the entrance-gate of the Museum. It is clear, however, that it ought to mention the actual duration of the bombardment.

riority and attraction. Hence our collections were doomed to perish.

It seems to me impossible to find any other explanation of this bombardment of the Museum.

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## CHAPTER XI.

### THE PRUSSIAN WAR.

WAR, as comprehended by Prussia and her partisans, ever presents the same characteristics. The more one dispassionately examines its motives and the means by which it is carried on, the more the mind finds itself involuntarily thrown back upon the past.

If one reads the article in which M. Coquerel has given an abstract of what Varnhagen de Ense wrote as early as 1840;\* if one recalls what Heine said of the sentiments of his fellow-countrymen towards us, one will find a key to the language used amongst them in official harangues, from the pulpit, and by the press. To the Prussians, the invasion of France was a *crusade*. It was preached in terms which betrayed in every word a mixture of the pitiless mysticism and boundless ambition which animated the old knights when they armed against the Saracens or the Pruczi.

But the warlike proceedings of Prussia carry us yet

\* *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Feb. 1, 1871.

farther back into history. I will not again speak of that pretended *code of war* which was applied so inexorably to all classes of our population, to huts as well as to villas. But what can one say of that organisation, so emphatically and officially cried up, which enabled Germany to crush us in two blows—to deluge France with its armies?

Is it then a new invention to hurl a whole people upon another people? What is it, if it be not imitating those barbarous hordes that clashed, nation against nation; rushing the one upon the other, and all against Roman civilisation, in veritable duels for life or death?

One would have thought that a return to such a state of things was impossible; that the institution of standing armies, forming a separate body in the state, destined to fight for all, would leave citizens to their business, the learned to their researches, the artists to their studios, the labourers to their ploughs, and would ameliorate a perhaps inevitable evil; that a drag might be at times put upon the general march of civilisation, but that it would not stop.

Thanks to Prussia, it will be thus no more.

Germany will not surprise us a second time. Warned by our misfortunes, nations will arm from one end to another. In France, in Europe, each man will learn to fight. And when the next conflicts come; when not only soldiers, but the representatives of



progress, in every kind ; when merchants, princes, and poets ; when artists like Henri Regnault,\* and philosophers like Gustave Lambert, fall stricken on the battle-plain ; men will comprehend what are war and civilisation, not invented, but revived, by the Prussian race.

\* Henri Regnault, the painter of *Salome* ; Gustave Lambert, who was on the eve of departing on an expedition to the North Pole ; both fell on the battle-field of Buzanval—one struck by a ball in front, the other by the bursting of a shell.

## CHAPTER XII.

### CONCLUSION.

It has been demonstrated that, in the real Prussian provinces; that is to say, in the two Prussias, Pomerania and Brandenburg; the population, by its ethnological origin, is essentially Finno-Slavian. The Germanic, more or less mixed with the French element, is dominant only in the upper classes, and among the citizens of certain towns.

It is quite otherwise in Western and Southern Germany.

These countries have also undoubtedly their foundation of Allophylic blood. The basin of the Rhine had inhabitants contemporary with our Trologdytes of Perigord, our hunters of the Somme, and the Hippophagi of Belgium. In the quarternary alluvial deposit of the former river, nearly opposite Strasburg, the first, and one of the most ancient human fossils, was discovered in the loess.\* But this first element of all;

\* This discovery is due to M. A. Boué. In 1823, this geologist found, near Lahr, in the grand-duchy of Baden, some human bones,

or, at least, of almost all, the European nations, is far from manifesting its presence here by such certain signs as it does in the North.

Besides, judging from all that we know on this still obscure question, the human race on the banks of the Rhine was distinct, even in the quarternary period, from that which gave birth to the Fins. It belonged to the fossil type characterised by lofty stature and the oval form of head.\*

On the other hand, the Aryan race is represented in Germany (properly so called) almost solely by its Germanic branch. Some few Celtic colonies came from Gaul and established themselves by force of arms upon a small number of points, compensating, so to speak, for the German groups that had emigrated in a contrary direction. As to the Slaves, they scarcely penetrated into, and never stopped there. M. Duchinski himself places Hanover, Bavaria, and all the countries situated south and west of these two kingdoms beyond the Slavic territory.

Finally, one sees why the French Calvinist emi-

the antiquity of which he recognised and loudly proclaimed. At Eguisheim, near Colmar, in 1867, Dr. Faudel found a portion of a skull which, compared with other pieces of bone, enabled him to recognise the general group to which this palæontological race of the Rhenish basin belongs.

\* See Dr. Hamy's work, appended to the second edition of Lyell's "Geological Evidences of the History of Man."

grants penetrated but little into Lutheran Germany. For a still stronger reason, they had scarcely anything to do with Catholic Germany.

Thus, in every respect, Prussia is ethnologically distinct from the peoples she now rules over, through the plea of a (pretended) unity of race. Besides, her conditions of existence, her surroundings, her alliances, have transformed the few elements which ally her to the genuine Germans. Identity of language, imposed by the conquering knights, may have masked this state of things; the passions of the moment may have caused it to be forgotten—it is not the less *real*.\*

Genuine Germany has, however, accepted Prussia as her sovereign. She had undoubtedly the right so to do; but she would perhaps have acted differently, had she not been led astray by an anthropological error.

Not content with making pure Germans subordinate to Slavo-Fins, Germany has adopted the hatred and worked out the instincts of those she has placed over her. This is the wrong that she will one day bitterly regret, the fault that she must expiate.

Blinded by the joy of an unexampled triumph,

\* Because they have learnt the language of their masters, the negroes of our colonies have not become either Englishmen or Frenchmen any more than they have become Spaniards or Portuguese; and the mulatto is never considered of pure Aryan blood.

imagining that she has now realised her own aspirations, Germany will undoubtedly read in my words only the expression of the resentment of the conquered. And yet; *can* she believe the phrases addressed to her from Berlin? Can she imagine she has inaugurated the reign of Justice and Peace?

Has she *really* no suspicion of the formidable problems she has helped to set?

Her union with Prussia has been founded by the sword and blood, cemented by war, crowned by spoilation. How long will it last? Will the large and small states, flattered and spared till now, be attacked in their turn in the name of historic right or of common language? Will these states be deprived of their German provinces, aggrandised with everything that may suit the conqueror, as we have lost Metz with Alsace; as Denmark has lost Danish with German Schleswig? Will the German race realise all its dreams of dominion? Does it believe it possible to do this without fresh combats?

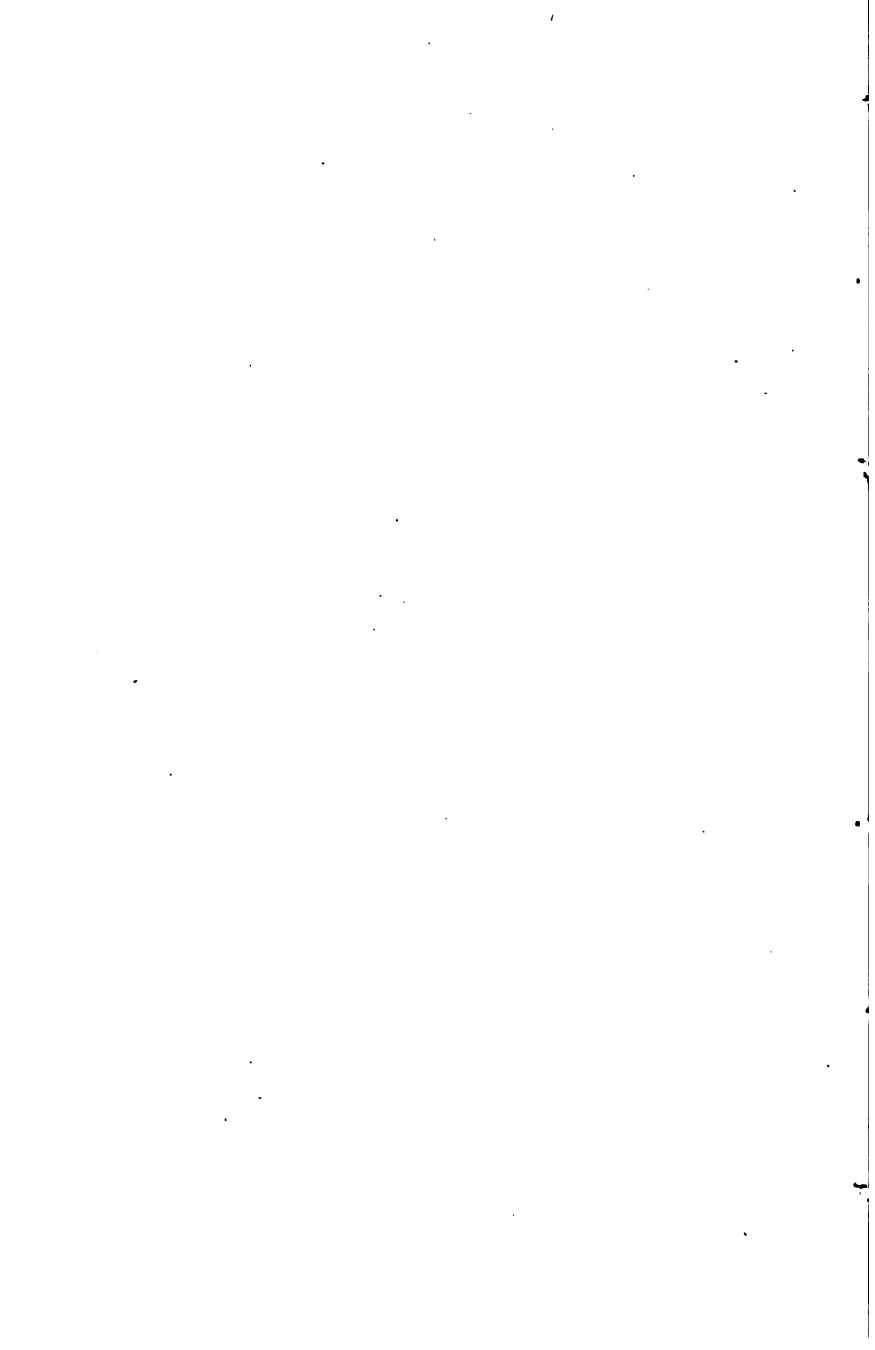
Will Russia look on during this triumph of Pan-Germanism without raising her voice in the name of Pan-Slavism? Will she not rather apply German doctrines in her turn, and to her own profit?

In the possible conflicts caused by these pretensions, what will Prussia do? Will she turn her cannon against her formidable neighbour? Or will she

invoking then the affinity of race, as she now invokes the affinity of language, rivet the bonds which already exist? Will the Slavo-Finnic races wish to reign altogether, over Germans and Latins? And would the world, thus shared, submit in silence?

These are some of the questions raised by the dangerous theories so abruptly and so brutally passed into the domain of facts, thanks to the Germano-Prussian union. The future will reply. I have confidence in it. When nations are concerned, we have a right to believe in the *Nemesis dirina*.

THE END.



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*The London International College,  
Spring Grove, Middlesex, W.  
April 13th, 1872.*

*My dear Sir,*

*I am very glad to see that you are publishing a series of works on commerce, for which no man, as far as I know, is more competent than you, on account of your connection, in former years, with the best educational establishments on the Continent, and on account of your long experience as a practical teacher of those subjects.*

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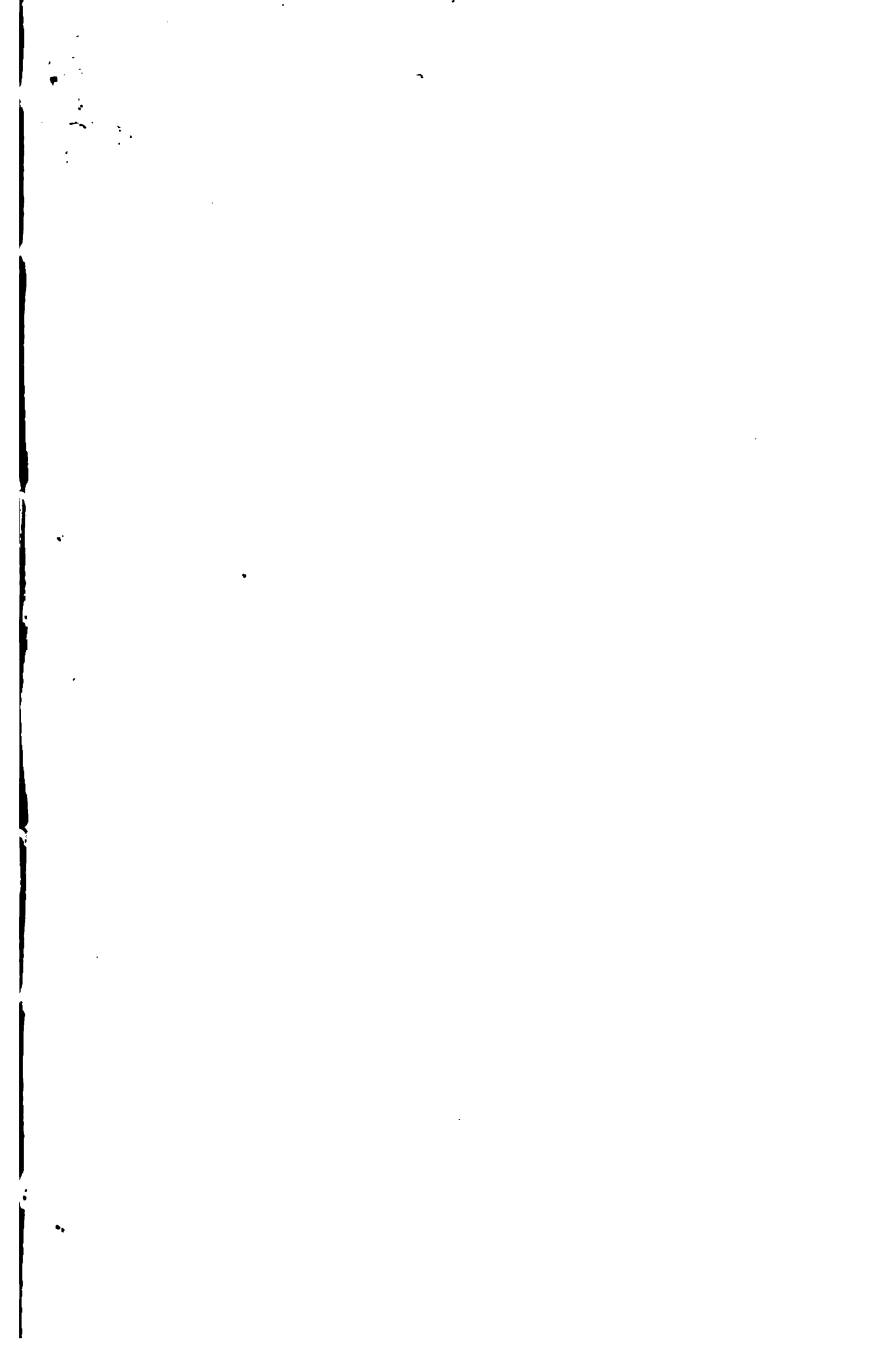
*Wishing you all the success which your valuable works deserve,*

*I remain, my dear Sir,*

*Yours very truly,*

*L. SCHMITZ, LL.D., &c.,  
Author of several Historical Treatises, Editor  
of Niebuhr's Lectures, late Tutor to their Royal  
Highnesses the Prince of Wales, Prince Alfred,  
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*Dr. John Yeats.*











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